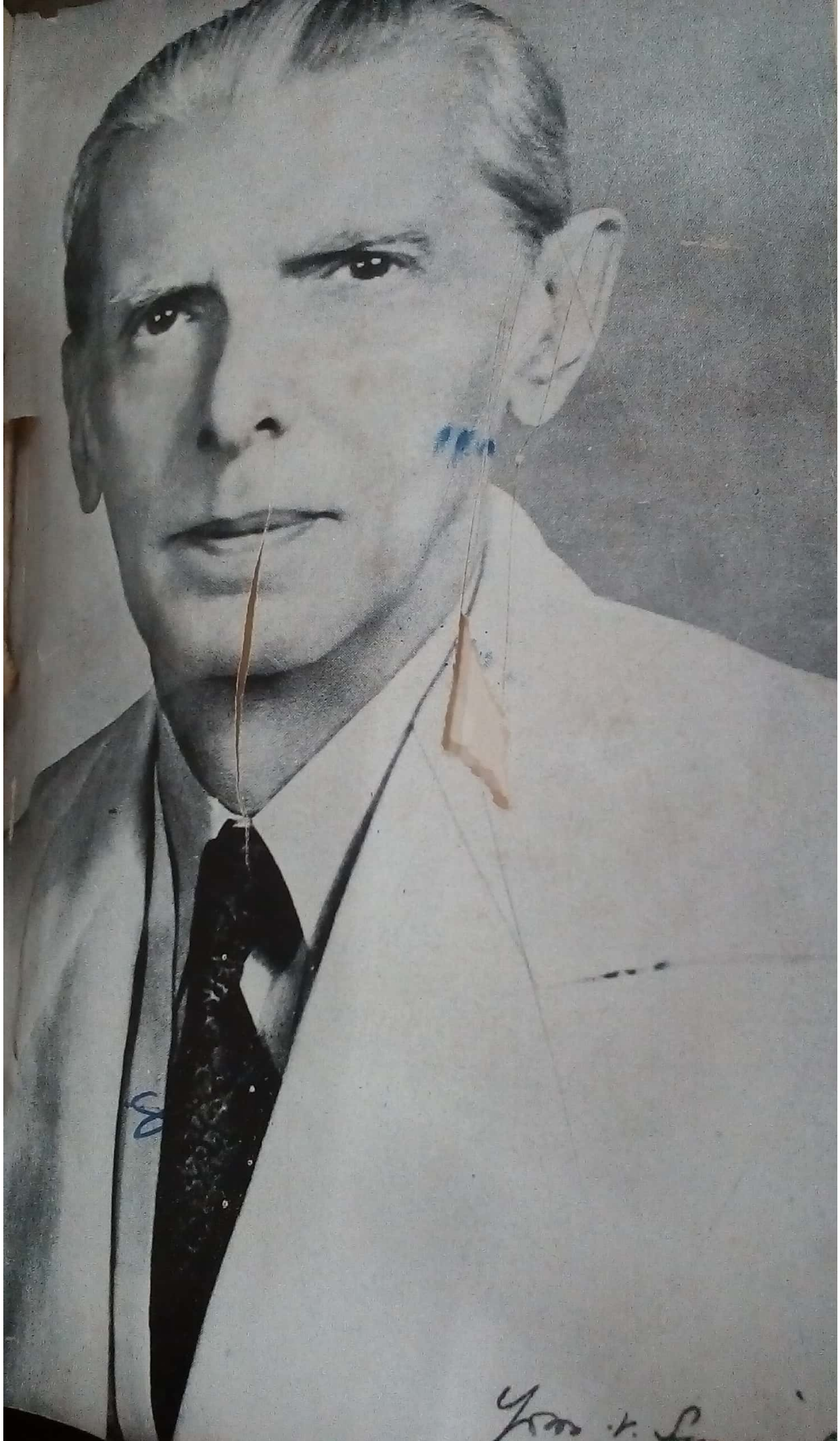


QAID-E-AZAM
JINNAH
AS I KNOW HIM

A. H. ISPAHANI



“Nature has given you everything; you have got unlimited resources. The foundation of your State has been laid; and it is for you to build, and build as quickly and as well as you can. So go ahead and I wish you godspeed.”

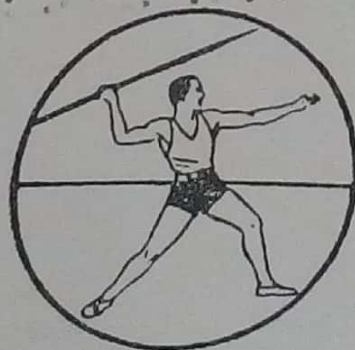
Qaid-e-Azam: August 14, 1948.

QAID - E - AZAM JINNAH

AS I KNEW HIM

Mirza Abol Hassan

M. A. H. ISPAHANI, 1902-



PUBLISHED BY
FORWARD PUBLICATIONS TRUST
Ispahani Building, McLeod Road,
Karachi

To the glorious Muslim masses of the then sub-continent of India whose faith in and disciplined following of Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah coupled with their monumental sacrifices made Pakistan, once a mere dream, a reality.



2nd Revised & Enlarged Edition 1967

Copyright Reserved

Printed in Pakistan
by
Ferozsons Ltd., McLeod Road, Karachi

ILLUSTRATIONS

ON THE DUST COVER

Qaid-e-Azam at Calcutta—March 1946

INSIDE THE BOOK

Qaid-e-Azam at Calcutta—March 1946	<i>frontispiece</i>	
Qaid-e-Azam relaxing at Billiards	<i>facing page</i>	2
Qaid-e-Azam in his younger days		16
Qaid-e-Azam at Calcutta with Khwaja Nooruddin and myself—1936		26
Qaid-e-Azam at Calcutta with the Committee of the Muslim Students' Federation of Bengal—1936		32
Qaid-e-Azam at his Bombay residence with the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad—1937		40
Qaid on way to the Muslim Students' Federation meeting at Jullundar. Mian Bashir Ahmad appealing to make way. I am in the foreground—November 1942		52
Working Committee members photographed at Qaid's house in Bombay—August 1942		62
Qaid-e-Azam in his library		78
A section of the gathering at Madras to welcome the Qaid—1941		98
Qaid in his library at his Mount Pleasant Road home—Bombay, 1942		106
The Qaid and Miss Fatima Jinnah on the way to a Muslim League Meeting at Bombay		114

ILLUSTRATIONS

A procession passing through McLeod Road, Karachi, welcoming the Qaid—1943	122
Qaid on way to attend a public meeting at Calcutta—1945	126
Qaid seeing Mr. Gandhi off at his home at Bombay after one of their meetings	132
A section of the mammoth gathering at the Patna session of the League	174
Qaid with the British Cabinet Mission	206
The Session of the Muslim League Legislators Convention held at the Anglo-Arabic College, Delhi, in April 1946.	210
Qaid arriving at Karachi to accept transfer of Power	222
Working Committee meeting at Simla—1946	230
Taking the salute as Governor-General—1947	274
Seal and insignia approved by the Qaid—1947	278
The nation mourns—1948	280
The nation's tribute—1966	282
Unveiling of a plaque at Qaid's student days lodgings in London—June, 1955.	284

Foreword

Introduction

I	Contact with Qaid	1
II	Plight of Muslim Bengal	3
III	Revival of Muslim Bengal	14
IV	The Cap, The Flag and The Capital	37
V	Haq and Sikandar ✓	43
VI	Cripps Mission and After	57
VII	Let there be 'DAWN'	67
VIII	Famine and Politics	83
IX	More about the Man	93
X	Aiming at Economic Independence	119
XI	The Simla Conference	134
XII	Muslim League from the Armchair to the Masses	147
XIII	Cabinet Mission & Diplomacy	204
XIV	Last Hope of a United India	221
XV	Projecting Muslim Case Abroad	240
XVI	Radcliffe's Betrayal & the Sikhs	249

CONTENTS

	Page
XVII Mountbatten, Nehru's Master or ?	261
XVIII Foreign Relations and Kashmir	266
XIX Fighting to the Last	273
Epilogue	282
Appendix A	284
Appendix B	285
Appendix C	286
Appendix D	288
Appendix D 1	289
Appendix D 2	290
Appendix E	291
Appendix F	299
Index	303

INTRODUCTION

This book is neither a biography of the Qaid-e-Azam nor a collection or rehash of his public utterances and opinions. Every well-informed person knows of him as a man of resolute will, completely incorruptible, a shrewd politician and advocate, prosperous and immaculate. But there is more to it than that and it is my object to disclose the human traits of his character, his inner thoughts and reactions which were revealed on rare occasions when he relaxed or thought aloud in the company of the closest of his trusted associates. The pages that follow, record facts and impressions which I can recall or have gathered from my records.

I believe that such a study of the Qaid-e-Azam has not been attempted and time should not be lost in publishing what only some persons still living know, so that the present generation and the generations that follow have a true picture of the character of the founder of their State. Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a mortal and, like all mortals, had his good points and points not so good. But this much must be said that the good far outweighed the indifferent.

If this book serves even a little of the purpose for which it is written, I shall be a grateful man, because I shall have contributed to the mass of material which will give a correct picture of the man who, with Allah's blessings and the support of one hundred million Muslims, earned for us our freedom and gave us a country, a homeland to call our own.

Had it not been for the constant persuasion of my friend Khwaja Sarwar Hasan, Secretary of the Pakistan Institute of International Affairs, Karachi, I would not have undertaken the responsibility of writing this book. Month in and month out he pressed me to search my memory and write about the Qaid. His pleas were reinforced by those of my wife who saw to it that I did not slacken in my efforts and whose constant encouragement enabled me to complete the task I had undertaken.

It is my pleasant duty to acknowledge with gratitude the help given me by some friends. I am indebted to Mr. K.H. Khurshid, former Secretary to the Qaid-e-Azam, for going through the manuscript and making useful suggestions.

INTRODUCTION

I am also grateful to Mr. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, a former Lecturer in English at Aligarh Muslim University and Convener of the Committee of Writers of the All-India Muslim League. As a well-known writer of books on the Muslim freedom struggle and with his first-hand knowledge of the Muslim League movement he gave me valuable assistance in filling in important details, supplying authentic references and preparing the final manuscript of the book.

I must also record my appreciation and thanks to my young and able Secretary, Miss Qamar Iqbal, who delved into my files of correspondence and picked out the material which I have reproduced, and for her tireless typing, re-typing and correcting the pages before they were finally sent to the press.

In this book I have not consistently used the word Qaid-e-Azam. I have addressed him in various ways. In places I have called him by his name, in others I have referred to him as Qaid-e-Azam or simply Qaid, or my or our leader. "A rose called by any other name smells just as sweet".

M. A. H. ISPAHANI

2, Reay Road,
Karachi.

March 1, 1966.

FOREWORD

It is now over thirty years that Mr. Ispahani and I have been close friends. We met in Calcutta for the first time in 1934 through a common friend, Khwaja Nooruddin¹. Two years later, we both were invited by the Qaid-e-Azam to attend a meeting at Lahore where the Muslim League Parliamentary Board was formed. It was there that we took an oath that we shall dedicate our lives to the service of the Muslim Nation under the leadership of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. Since that memorable day until the Qaid breathed his last, whatever our minor differences may have been, we never wavered in our loyalty to the leader and to the cause he represented. We gave him our love, respect and loyalty and he, in return, rewarded us with his full confidence and trust.

I can say without fear of contradiction that in every decision that the Qaid took regarding Bengal, the largest Muslim province of India, he depended completely on the reports of Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani. In 1946 Mr. Ispahani was appointed his Personal Representative and Envoy of the Muslim League to acquaint the leaders and heads of foreign states with the case for Muslim independence in our sub-continent. Mr. Ispahani throughout the Qaid's life remained one of his able, loyal and trusted lieutenants. Having lived and worked so closely with the Qaid, who else can give a better and truer picture of the man?

Never before in the history of Indian Muslims had any single person attained such a political stature or had commanded such implicit confidence and trust of his people as did the Qaid-e-Azam. He was a man who had little in common with the people he led but his singleness of purpose, his unbending will and complete faith in the righteousness of his cause, created a nation with life and vision out of an exhausted, disarrayed and frustrated people.

Most of us know how the Qaid-e-Azam reacted in times of great stress and strain but the true greatness of the man is revealed through the minor incidents of his life and the sum total of his behaviour in his day-to-day life is by far the best yardstick to measure his true character.

¹ Khwaja Nooruddin was the founder of the "Morning News" at Calcutta which, after Partition, was re-started at Karachi and Dacca.

FOREWORD

Here is a book that recalls some incidents in the life of the Qaid-e-Azam. Originally, it was proposed that Mr. Ispahani, Maulana Jamal Mian, Mr. K.H. Khurshid and I contribute articles on the various facets of the life and character of the Qaid. Unfortunately, none of us was able to fulfil this promise and Mr. Ispahani, therefore, had to go it alone and publish only those incidents of the Qaid's life which he had recorded in writing or had stored in his memory.

Many books will, I am sure, be written about the founder of Pakistan, but this one will remain valuable in its own way as it will be an index of the feelings and reactions of a young—young at the time these notes were written—Muslim intellectual and of the impact which the Qaid's personality had on the mind of a young man who had the rare privilege of enjoying his confidence.

I hope and trust that this will only be a beginning and Mr. Ispahani will, in the near future, find time to write and give a fuller and more comprehensive account of the man and the movement which, under Allah's guidance, created the largest Muslim State in the twentieth century.

MOHAMMAD AMIR AHMAD
Raja of Mahmudabad

2, Framroze Road,
Karachi.

March 1, 1966.

INTRODUCTION

to the second revised and enlarged edition:

As the first edition of this book, in all its three versions, has met with unexpected demand and is almost sold out, my friends and some of those who wrote to me kind and encouraging letters after reading it, have asked me to venture into the publication of a second edition. This, I am doing, with some measure of reluctance.

This second edition will carry not only the correction of the printer's errors but also the additions of interesting material, a completely new chapter captioned "Muslim League from the armchair to the masses," which seeks to give a brief report on the All-India Muslim League, covering the period 1906 until 1947, some appendices and an index. This edition has necessitated extra effort which I have made with the encouragement and exemplary co-operation of Mr. Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, who has worked untiringly by my side to give it better shape, to add to it more important and interesting material, since discovered, and to make it somewhat rewarding for the effort put in.

It gives me pleasure to acknowledge with gratitude the services of Syed Shamsul Hasan who was Assistant Secretary of the All-India Muslim League from 1914 right until partition. He was popularly known as the 'old faithful' and has carefully preserved the records of the Muslim League. Without exaggeration, he may be called a walking history of the Muslim League. I am grateful to him for refreshing my memory of some of the events recorded here.

In adding a new chapter, more names of the dead and the living have been accommodated in these pages. Some have appeared in glowing colours whereas others have not made such beautiful pictures. I shall make it abundantly clear that I bear no malice to those whom I have criticised at the time we were struggling to gain our freedom. My files and notes have provided the material. Most of the leaders were my friends or acquaintances and colleagues and to some of them I was close. But friendship is one thing and the recording of incontrovertible facts is something else. It will be agreed that facts have to be presented without fear, favour or distortion.

INTRODUCTION TO THE SECOND REVISED AND ENLARGED
EDITION

If these pages have brought out the positive and epoch-making part played by Mohammed Ali Jinnah in creating a new State and the fact that the goal of the Muslims of India was achieved through the sincerity, hard work, perseverance, clear thinking, clean dealing, patience, unmatched strategy and great foresight of the President of the All-India Muslim League, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, this book will have served its purpose.

M. A. H. ISPAHANI

2, Reay Road,
Karachi

December 15, 1966.

CONTACT WITH QAID

AS a young man of eighteen, I first cast eyes on Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the famous lawyer and nationalist politician of India. He hailed from Bombay. He was married to Miss Ratanbai Petit, only daughter of the wealthy Baronet, Sir Dinshaw Petit. She was the elder sister of the present Sir Dinshaw, my friend and contemporary at Cambridge. Mr. Jinnah was a renowned active politician. He was member of the Imperial Legislative Council representing the Muslims of Bombay from 1910 to 1919 when he resigned on the Rowlatt Act issue. I had heard that his speeches in the Council were marked by a spirit of independence and fearless advocacy of the cause of the people.

It was in the Michaelmas term of 1920, my first "fresher" term at Cambridge, that Mr. Jinnah accepted the invitation of the Indian *Majlis*¹, the first ever debating society established by Indians in England, to address its members. He wore with distinction a thin streak of grey hair right in the middle of his head; his features were chiselled; he was tall and thin; he was immaculately and fashionably attired; in short, he made an indelible impression on the screen of my memory, an impression which despite all the many years that have flown by, remains as evergreen as it was when I first set my eyes on him. At the time I could well appreciate why women of diverse

¹ The Indian *Majlis* at Cambridge was, if I am not wrong, the first non-British Society at the University founded almost 100 years ago. The *Majlis* is a debating society and, in my time, used to hold meetings every Sunday night, after dinner. The procedure followed by it was and is similar to that of the Union Society, a mock parliament of the University. At almost every meeting, debates were held which were at times fiery and almost always interesting. The *Majlis* President invited specialists, whenever available, to participate in the debates. Sometimes when a V.I.P. was invited, debate was postponed and the evening was devoted to hearing the learned speaker and putting questions to him after his talk. The Cambridge *Majlis* is the elder sister of the Oxford *Majlis*. Both Societies have produced more politicians and prominent men in various walks of life in India and Pakistan than I would care to mention. In 1923 I had the good fortune and privilege to be elected President and I can say with confidence that I gained substantially in experience by participating in the activities of the *Majlis*. My daughter, Iran, followed me thirty years later.

ages fell captive to his charm and personality. When addressing us, in spite of his famed reserve, he appeared to be close to us youngsters who had filled the hall to hear him. We were struck by his eloquence, the ease and grace of his style of speaking and his grasp of political intricacies.

He spoke for about an hour. He advised us to devote our attention to studies and to return home qualified to help our motherland to advance and to gain her freedom from British subjection. He informed us of the latest shape the struggle for independence had assumed and how it would continue without a moment's abatement until freedom was won. It was at this meeting of the *Majlis* that I first met Subhas Chandra Bose, the great Indian hero, loved and adored particularly by the Hindus of Bengal, who was in later life called "Netaji" and fled the country to join the "enemy's" camp when the war was going badly for Britain and her allies; who created the Indian National Army and lost his life in an air crash in the Pacific. Subhas, having been selected for the I.C.S., was doing his probation. Shortly after starting, he resigned from the I.C.S. which in British days was a great service, the envy of all classes of servants, public or private. He did not want to serve the rulers. His desire was to return home to "throw the British out and to be free". Subhas too was much impressed by Mr. Jinnah's talk and heard him throughout with rapt attention.

The next time I had the privilege of meeting Mr. Jinnah, and this time in the company of his beautiful wife, was some weeks later at dinner in my uncle's home, 46, Putney Hill, London. It was a fairly grand dinner. After dinner, a Jazz band performed and the guests, at least most of them, took the floor and cut capers as was the fashion in 1920. Mr. Jinnah was not a dancing fan. So my cousin, Mirza Ali Ispahani, and I accompanied him to the billiard room. He played billiards while the band's drummer thumped on the drum just over our heads.

Then, time grew her long wings and flew past. Years passed and my path and his brilliantly lit one did not cross. It was in 1936 that I was astonished to receive an invitation from the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, the Chairman of which was Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, to attend the meeting of the said Board at Lahore. This became my third meeting with the man who was destined to fight for and win freedom from both British and Hindus for his brothers and sisters in faith in the form of a separate, independent, sovereign State carved out of the sub-continent.

II

PLIGHT OF MUSLIM BENGAL

AT our first meeting, Mr. Jinnah's qualities which impressed me most were his magnetic personality and his genius for negotiation and for conveying his point of view convincingly. With the passage of time, these qualities grew increasingly outstanding and to demonstrate this view I shall delve into the past for appropriate material.

It was in the year 1932 that a group of young, energetic, patriotic and progressive men in Calcutta formed the *New Muslim Majlis*. The spear-head of this drive was Khwaja Nooruddin, cousin and brother-in-law of Khwaja Nazimuddin, who later played a heroic part in making the Mohammedan Sporting Club the premier football club of India. The main aims and objects of the group were:

- (a) To gain freedom from British rule,
- (b) To join hands with progressive and nationalist bodies to attain (a) above,
- (c) To sponsor the just rights of the Muslims in the Calcutta Corporation and elsewhere,
- (d) To capture the Mohammedan Sporting Club and to develop it into the nation's premier football club,
- (e) To start a newspaper for carrying on a fearless campaign in support of Muslim rights and to rehabilitate self-confidence amongst the Muslims of Bengal.

It was a party which believed not in communalism but in nationalism. It believed in wresting, through united effort, independence from the British; it believed in opposing all the policies and reasons which the British adopted to the detriment of Indian interests; it believed that unless the Hindus and Muslims abandoned their parochial views and joined hands to fight for their peoples' freedom, independence would always remain a mere mirage. With all these objects in mind, the

party decided to enter the active field of politics through the portals of the Calcutta Corporation.

In the Corporation elections which were held in the spring of 1963, the *New Muslim Majlis* put up six candidates for the eighteen seats which were reserved for the Muslims of Calcutta. Of the six, five were returned and one of the *Majlis* nominees, an unknown young man Mr. Basit by name, beat the Lion of Bengal, Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq, in Ward No. 19. This was Mr. Haq's first defeat in his long political career and at the hands of a youngster. Being young Muslim "nationalists", we secured the support of the Congress Party in the Corporation and had one of the leading members of our party, Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, elected Alderman of the Corporation. This group, of which I was a member, though small in number, did useful work in the city Corporation. It judged questions on their merit and not on a communal basis as the other older Muslim groups and parties did. Any proposal which the European group in the Corporation put forward, whether right or wrong, was opposed on principle by the *Majlis* Party, although one of the two factions of the Congress, the Sen Gupta Party, and the Forward Block, to achieve their own ends, joined hands with the Europeans who had ten members in the Corporation.

The *New Muslim Majlis* Party financed an old Muslim newspaper *The Musalman*, owned and edited by an elderly "nationalist" gentleman named Mujibur Rahman. When he took ill and was no longer able to edit the monthly, Riazul Hassan, one of Abdur Rahman Siddiqi's friends and followers, was entrusted with the responsibility. Altaf Husain, now a veteran Journalist and editor of *Dawn*¹, was at the time professor of English literature at Calcutta University and used to contribute interesting, illuminating and powerful weekly articles presenting Muslim views, grievances and demands in the columns of the *Calcutta Statesman* under the pseudonym "Ainul Mulk". Altaf Husain then harboured *Muslim Majlis* ideals in his heart and undertook to write free of charge a column in our *Musalman* under the caption "Slings and Arrows", his pen-name being "Archer". This column created a sensation and there was discomfiture in the ranks both of the Muslim toadies and of the Hindus. The column was a treat for the young and progressive Muslim intelligentsia of Bengal.

¹ At present, Minister of Industries in the President's Cabinet of Ministers.

I reproduce his column of July 1935, which is undoubtedly interesting reading even today and which will give the reader a bird's eyeview of the spirit and sentiments of the young and progressive intelligentsia of the time spear-headed in Bengal by the *New Muslim Majlis* of Calcutta:

"SLINGS & ARROWS"

BY ARCHER

(From *The Musalman* dated Friday, July 19, 1935)

"Sleep no more! Macbeth doth murder sleep, Duncan doth murder sleep; sleep no more!"—it is a long while ago that I read my Shakespeare, but even though I may be misquoting, I cannot help invoking the aid of that great master of human motives and feelings, faced as I am today, along with all other sentient fellow-Muslims, with a situation which no words that I can string together will adequately describe. We yet sleep and dream, yet there closes in upon our spirit a heavy langour which makes us drowsy and forgetful, with its soporific though no longer perfumed memories of days bygone. Cataclysmic spirit-quakes, more devastating than any earthquake has ever been, have vainly striven us out of that traitorous spiritual inertia. Feelings and sentiments, rights and privileges have been devastated, used as footstools by others bent on mounting upon the peak we have forfeited. But the devastation has not been tremendous,—it has not moved our souls into an awakening. We are content to let our storied and treasured past crumble into dust around;—we are content to lie buried under the debris of all the hopes, all the ideals, all the achievements of our ancestors. We care not how long we remain but pedestals and footstools, all that we hunger for is sleep,—the sleep of the forgotten, the sleep of the forsaken, the drugged sleep of the frozen-blooded, the sleep from which there is no awakening. And yet I say "sleep no more!"—because the murderer of sleep is abroad.

Listen! something other than a mere past has crumbled. Debris of another kind has scattered its consecrated dust upon the western winds. Bricks and stones, cupolas and domes and minarets,—particles of mere matter, but hallowed through the callings by the Faithful, in the distant but illumined past, on that God of Islam who is the God of all humanity, who is one and indivisible, and is Rahman and Rahim as well as *Zu-Intiqam*. They have crumbled and fallen, and by now even the debris has been moved away. A matter of but a few days it has been, this breaking of what for twice as many centuries stood a landmark of the preaching and worship of peace. The law allowed it and the court awarded it,—and the "pound of flesh" was taken. The Mosque of Shahidgunj² is now itself *Shahid*. One more "insult to God and man", one more soul-ache, one more spirit-quake, one more

² Shahidgunj Mosque. A mosque in the old city of Lahore which was desecrated by Sikhs and converted into a Gurdwara. Owing to the agitation that ensued as a result, the Government of Punjab sealed the doors of the Mosque. The late Maulana Zafar Ali Khan, Proprietor and Editor of *Daily Zamindar*, played a significant role in the agitation as a leader of the Muslims.

QAID-E-AZAM AS I KNEW HIM

agonised groan of anguished despair from and of the Muslim world,—and then silence. What else? The law allowed it, the court awarded it,—and the state (perforce) protected them. In the domain of action, what else then, but wise passivity, acceptance of the inevitable, recognition that time is a changeling, an uplifting of the soul in prayer that He who is the Chastiser may chastise, and realisation that “peace”, above all peace, must meanwhile be maintained? Peace, be it end, without any price paid. Let none disturb it and none threaten.

If forgetting is possible, let us forget; if forgiveness is possible, let us forgive. But no more slumber, no more hope. Because of the God we worship we cannot sleep; in the name of the land we love, let us not hope. A red-hot iron has been plunged deep into our slumbering souls, and there it stays. Silence yes, and peace by all means:—but who shall stop the spirit burning: Let it burn. Refuse of generations well-nigh choked it, it was losing itself. Let it burn itself into itself again.

But look; astride the prostrate shape of what they call “Mother India” stands the monstrous demon of foul hypocrisy. Look! dart after dart poisoned at the spring of hate, pierces her tender child. Hope;—hope that one day she may stand where she now grovels.

The hope is dead. With their own hands, the high priests who proudly claimed exclusively to worship at her shrine, have murdered it. And with every stab they inflicted upon its wretched body, a fierce and other than human joy seemed to intoxicate them into forgetfulness of the “irretrievable” crime they were committing. The Sikhs and the Hindus have murdered our Two Hopes. The hope that some day India, the land we live in and die in, might be free, was massacred when the Sikhs forgot the solemn assurance they had given to the Governor of the Punjab, and in deliberate violation thereof, in the dead of night when Muslims and the Government were sleeping and dreaming of peace on the morrow,—they raised the sacrilegious pickaxe to inflict its first wound upon that hallowed plaster. The other hope that some day, between the Hindus and ourselves there might be love, amity and understanding, was relentlessly butchered by the Hindus, when with ink dipped in venom—and inconsistency—and linotypes clicking in unholy accompaniment, they stabbed and stabbed that Hope through the heart, in broad day-light, till it crumbled up, fell, and bled to death. None can rebuild the one, and the other, none can revive.

Henceforth, there shall be no moral responsibility, there shall be no understanding, there shall be no compromise. There shall only be legal rights. What the law allows, morality and comradeship and patriotism shall not deny. Upon the highways of His Majesty, we Muslims will walk with a tread which shall resound as it tramples into dirt the hypocritical gifts of “fellowship in a common nationhood” proffered by the deceitful alien. The third party shall triumph, you say? Let there be a fourth if need be, and let both triumph. Do not our own “brethren” triumph, with dark though ill-concealed glee? Have they cared to respect the holiest of our holy sentiments? When I cut a *peepul* tree standing in my compound, or remove a piece of stone from my land, what an outcry is there! I am a vandal, a desecrator of sacred things, a wretch who understands not religious susceptibilities of others. It is not for me to question why my *peepul* tree

or a stone on my land should be worshipped and my legal rights over them filched from me because of the peculiar pulsations of the heart of Aryavarta. I must not kill a cow that I have bought with my own money, even in a place or on a field that is my own. Here in Bengal, the right never questioned before has also begun to be attacked of late. Up country, there are hundreds of places where a Muslim cannot kill his cow, either for sacrifice or for food, anywhere except in a slaughter-house, and in many places not even in a slaughter-house. Why? Because it hurts and injures the "religious" sentiments of the Hindus. The Muslim foregoes or is made to part with his legal right because of the moral consideration of respecting other people's feelings. However primitive and unaccountable those feelings may be, they must be respected. If anyone ever has failed to respect them, with one voice the organs of Hindu opinion have cried out for chastisement.

"Hath not a Jew eyes? If you prick us do we not bleed?"—Have we no claim to moral respect for our susceptibilities, even though the law may give others the right to insult them? Read, my friends, read the long columnfuls of insensate matter that they have poured out. Read, but wonder not; read and cease to hope. Not yet, and never as long as this remains their standpoint, can we hope for an understanding. Never can we enter that contaminated and poisoned atmosphere which reeks with the foul breath of such putrid nationalism. There shall be no nation out of a merging of us into them or with them. If such was your hope, forsake it! If such was your pledge, forswear it! If India bleeds, let her lie bleeding.

From now onwards, build a dream anew; with the iron yet hot and blazing in your soul, make another determination. THERE SHALL BE A TRUE NATION OF GENUINE PATRIOTS IN INDIA, A NATION OF EIGHTY MILLION MUSLIMS;—a nation those ideal shall not be deceit and hypocrisy, a nation that shall not resort to the darkest subterfuges in order to pop itself up with the ruins of others' trampled rights and on the debris of others' sacred sentiments, a nation that shall not build a temple of legal rights immorally exercised,—but a nation that shall love India truly and shall strike hard, and strike relentlessly, all evil on the head. Despair not; numbers must not daunt you. Right, justice, morality and God are on our side.

But the first step in the new awakening, must be that every heart that throbs must learn to throb with the intensity of those who stood on the fields of Badr and Ohud. While eschewing all violence in deed and action, every true heart must learn to feel. FEEL! FEEL! FEEL! therefore, and prepare—"

It did not, however, take more than a year for us to realise that the "nationalism" that we had envisaged was merely a dream and did not exist in reality. Whatever the Hindus did in the Corporation, however communal in nature, was lauded as genuine nationalism but when we demanded the same rights, we were branded as communalists. This warped point of view applied to every shred of patronage which the Calcutta Corporation gave to the citizens whether it was in the

field of contracts or in the sphere of services in the Corporation in both of which the Muslims had a negligible share, in spite of the fact that they constituted 24% of the population of the city. Therefore, to the members of the *Muslim Majlis* who were growing increasingly vociferous and attracting the attention of the outsiders as well as the other Muslim nationalists³, there appeared no alternative but to come to a head-on clash with the powerful Hindu Congress element in the Corporation, the two factions of which joined hands to quash the legitimate Muslim grievances. Some months later, our agitation worked up to boiling point and, through the pressure of the *Muslim Majlis* Party within and Muslim public opinion outside, brought about the wholesale resignation of the Muslim Councillors, including Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq, who was Mayor at the time.

Thereafter, agitation outside was increased and it gathered such strength that the 1936 Corporation general elections were boycotted by the Muslims of Calcutta. In spite of influence, money and pressure, the Hindus were unable to get a single Muslim of any respectability and standing to contest the elections and except for a "Quisling" and a few hackney carriage drivers, barbers and butlers who were elected by default and not by merit, the new Corporation simply did not represent the Muslims of Calcutta and much less, their interests. Some of us and one outsider, and former member of the Corporation, Shaheed Suharawardy, together with the workers of the *Khilafat Committee*⁴ of Zakaria Street, devoted ourselves to the task of making the boycott a success. Often we worked between nineteen and twenty hours a day without break. Suffice it to say, the boycott was an unqualified success and the Muslim leaders in Bengal and elsewhere began to take cognizance of the new dashing group known as the *New Muslim Majlis* of Calcutta. And yet, the boycott had a near miss with disaster on the last day allotted for the filing of the nomination papers.

On the morning of this day, as was our rule, we visited the Calcutta Corporation to look through the copies of nomination papers which were posted on the board, in compliance with election rules, and were shocked to see a nomination paper bearing the signature of Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq as a prospective candidate from one of the Wards. We set about our business in a flash because there was no time to waste. The first information Nooruddin and I gathered was

³ As opposed to the Muslim "toadies" wedded to British rule.

⁴ A body of Muslim workers formed in India at the time of the *Khilafat* agitation in support of Turkey, after her defeat in World War I.

that J. C. Gupta, a Congressite of the Sen Gupta Group in the Corporation, had succeeded in persuading Fazlul Haq to file his papers. The game which was being played was obvious. There were a dozen traitors waiting for a man of Fazlul Haq's stature to file his nomination so that they could follow him promptly and make the boycott infructuous. This is exactly what the powerful Congress Party wanted and we, obviously, did not. So Nooruddin and I went to Nawab Habibullah of Dacca who had been appointed the titular head of the boycott movement and told him that we had to act and our plan was to go to the Jhawtolla Road residence of Fazlul Haq and get his letter of withdrawal, if necessary by threat of force.

When we went up the stairs of his composite large office and sitting room, we saw him lying on a *charpoy*, victim of an asthma attack. Fortunately, there was no one in the room and he did not summon anyone in. He did not suspect anything untoward from us. The question "Have you signed the nomination papers?" was put to him. He replied in the negative. He was told that he was telling a lie. He again denied. Then a letter addressed to the Chief Executive Officer was produced by Nooruddin which read that someone had filed his nomination bearing his forged signature and, of course, without his knowledge or consent; that he repudiated the nomination and, to remove doubt once and for all, requested that this letter be treated as withdrawal of his candidature. He was told that if he did not sign straightaway, grave consequences would follow. He hesitated for a minute and then signed on the dotted line.

Having achieved success and averted a catastrophe which would have wiped out months of hard work, we made for the Corporation as fast as we could drive and presented the letter of withdrawal to the Chief Executive Officer, J.C. Mukerjee, with the request to post it on the appropriate notice board right away. This was complied with and we stood in the corridors to see that no damage to or removal of the withdrawal was effected and the press and the prospective candidates who were present in the lobbies at all hours of the day came to know of the short-lived candidature of Mr. A.K. Fazlul Haq. Our escape from defeat was providential and we thanked the good Lord for it.

The boycott was so successful indeed that Subhas Chandra Bose, who was considered to be a genius in organising, told me in 1940 that the Congress had never organised a boycott which was as effective as the Calcutta Corporation boycott by Muslims when 98% of the Muslim voters did not go to the polls. This success achieved by the Muslims of Calcutta became a shining example for the Muslim leader-

ship and people throughout the country. It went hand in hand with the success on the football field achieved by the Mohammedan Sporting Club of Calcutta for which Khwaja Nooruddin deserves the laurels. It was he who, as Secretary General of the Mohammedan Sporting Club, brought to life a dying organisation and made football history not only in Bengal but in the rest of India. Victory of the Muslims against strong European and also Hindu teams on the football field instilled a spirit of self-confidence and pride in the Muslims of Bengal in particular, a vast majority of whom, through years of persecution and humiliation, had lost confidence in themselves and in their future. They had forgotten to agitate for their rights and to demand them, backed, if need be, with sacrifice. They were reduced to a state where anything that they thought was necessary for them could be obtained only by supplication, petition and deputation. All the agitation, fiery speaking and even sacrifice were the prerogatives of the caste Hindu and naturally Mother Britain always gave the most milk to the baby which cried the loudest and most often!

British rule extended all over India for ninety years, from 1857 to 1947 but in Bengal the British-cum-Hindu exploitation and rule covered the period between 1757 and 1947—a hundred and ninety years.

The Nawab Nazim Mir Kasim granted the East India Company special rights and privileges in Bengal in 1761. Some of them were: that the East India Company would enjoy a 25% reduction in the tax which was levied on all traders. Later the Moghul Emperor Shah Alam granted a *Sanad* to the Company conferring the right on it to collect revenue in the Provinces of Bihar and Bengal. This enabled the East India Company to establish its trading centres all over Bengal and ousted Muslim traders from the business that they and their ancestors had been doing. Besides, as the Directors of the East India Company were not permitted to trade in their own name, they brought Hindu traders from other parts of Bengal and India to trade as their *benamidars*⁵. The wealth of these *benamidars* can be judged by one single example.

Kintu Babu, who worked as Warren Hastings *benamindar*, spent ninety lacs of rupees on the funeral ceremonies of his mother. From this it can be judged how wealthy Kintu Babu must have been and how much wealthier Warren Hastings had become during the years he ruled in India.

⁵ *Benamidars* are those who trade under a false name.

Clive in one of his Gazette notifications made it mandatory that no Muslim shall be given any employment higher than that of a *chaprasy* or a junior clerk.

✓ By the above two methods, among others, the Muslims of Bengal were ousted from both trade and service. Zamindaris and Wakfs in Bengal were abolished overnight. There were 8,000 Wakfs at the time. Zamindaris and taluqas confiscated were auctioned for as little as four and eight annas and the new landlords who purchased these properties were no other than the *benamidars* of the East India Company "Nabobs".

✓ In the words of Sir William Hunter, a British civil servant of India, during the sixties and seventies of the nineteenth century, as recorded in his book "The Indian Musalmans", "A hundred and seventy years ago it was almost impossible for a well-born Muslim in India to become poor. At present, it is almost impossible for him to continue rich." He goes on, "When the country passed under our rule, the Musalmans were the superior race and superior not only in stoutness of heart and strength of arm but in power of political organisation and in the science of practical government." And between 1764 until 1937 the Muslims of Bengal remained a nonentity as far removed from power as they were from the moon. From around the 20's of this century a small share in so-called "very limited" powers was given to some Muslims in Bengal who were for all intents and purposes the stooges of the British rulers.

The suppression of Muslims became so intolerable that one of the first Hindu-Muslim riots of the sub-continent occurred in Bengal in 1831, when Rai Kishan Rai of Purnea imposed a special tax, called the "Beard Tax", of Rs. 2/8 per cultivator who wore a beard. At that juncture, the East India Company sent its forces to support the Rai Saheb and suppress the Muslims of Purnea! A well-known Hindu historian K.M. Panikkar himself in his book "A Survey of Indian History" has testified: "An alliance was struck between the head of European bania-dom, the English Company, and the Marwari merchants who commanded the wealth of Bengal."

These are some facts of Muslim Bengal's history which can enable the reader to both understand and appreciate the extent to which they were crushed. The first Muslim document was a memorandum presented by the Muslims of Orissa in 1875 to Queen Victoria in which they narrated these facts and their sufferings which included exclusion from government service. They concluded the petition

with the words that they had no alternative left but to either walk into the sea and drown or get lost in the hills of Orissa⁶.

Many a thumb and hand of the expert weavers of the famous Dacca muslin were cut off by the men of East India Company to end competition which British cloth faced in the country. Persian, which was the court language, after holding its place for sixty years during East India Company's rule, was perforce made to make way for English and Bengali, enriched with the vocabulary of the Hindu clerks and employees of the Company.

Muslims in no part of India were crushed or made to suffer so much as were the Muslims of Bengal.

In the Renaissance of Muslim Bengal, Mohsin, who established the famous Hughly Imambara Trust, Nawab Abdul Latif, Nawab Salimullah, Syed Amir Ali and Nawab Ali Chowdhury of Bogra played important parts.

With this background it can be appreciated by our generation and students of history why the Muslim League was founded and organised at Dacca on December 30, 1906.

The moving spirits behind the foundation of the All-India Muslim League were Nawab Salimullah of Dacca and Nawabs Mohsin-ul-Mulk and Viqar-ul-Mulk of Aligarh who were close associates and successors of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan. Earlier a deputation of leading and influential Muslims, organised by Mohsin-ul-Mulk and headed by Agha Khan III, had met the Viceroy Lord Minto on the 1st October 1906 and demanded separate electorate for Muslims in the projected constitutional reforms. The Viceroy in his reply conceded the demand in principle. The deputation, which came to be known as the Simla Deputation⁷, was an important milestone on the road to Muslim freedom, for it symbolised political awakening among Muslims who till then had been content to confine their activities to social reform and educational advance.

Among those who played a significant part in the early days in the growth and development of the All-India Muslim League both in India and abroad, the names of the following need mention:

⁶ W. W. Hunter: *The Indian Musalmans*.

⁷ For a detailed account of facts relating to the Simla Deputation and inception of the Muslim League, the reader is referred to Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad's book *Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement*.

Sir Syed Amir Ali, Sir Sultan Mohamed Shah Aga Khan, Musheer Hussain Kidwai, Mirza Hashem Ispahani⁸, Sir Syed Ali Imam, Raja Mohamed Ali Mohamed Khan of Mahmudabad, Sir Syed Wazir Hassan, Maulana Mohamed Ali and Sir Mian Mohamed Shafi.

It may be recalled that in 1913, after the Muslim League had adopted the creed of 'self-government suitable to India', Mr. Mohamed Ali Jinnah joined the League at the invitation of his friends, Syed Wazir Hasan and Mohamed Ali.

III

REVIVAL OF MUSLIM BENGAL

IT was only in 1937 that the first Muslim League Ministry came into being as a result of the Government of India Act of 1935, and with it came the re-awakening and welcome up-swing of the Muslims, much to the chagrin of the Hindus who had held an unchallenged position under British patronage and tutelage ever since the battle of Buxar. They did everything possible to check the political and economic progress of the Muslims. They even played the game of Divide and Rule of their Masters with the Muslims, but after their last success in 1941, when Fazlul Haq betrayed his party and joined hands with the Congress and Mahasabha Hindus in Bengal, they fought a losing battle culminating in the Partition of India on August 14, 1947.

It was in June 1936 that we received invitations for the first meeting of the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board from the late Abdul Matin Chowdhury of Assam on behalf of the President, Mr. Jinnah. Of the forty members from Bengal, only Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and I went to Lahore to attend the meetings of the Board. The first meeting was held on June 8, 1936, at the house of Mian Abdul Aziz, Bar-at-Law, and the subsequent meetings at Nedou's Hotel. Besides the members, over 400 Muslims leaders and workers, had been invited to this meeting. It was a very important gathering as it was concerned with most urgent and vital matters affecting the Muslims of India, including the question of elections under the new Constitution in early 1937.

At this time feverish activity was on, particularly in Calcutta amongst the then Muslim leaders of the Province to launch a United Muslim Party of Bengal and to set up its candidates at the General Elections. The leaders of this Party were Khawaja Nazimuddin, Nawab Habibullah of Dacca, Nawab K.G.M. Farooqi of Ratanpur, M. Azizul Haq, Khawaja Shahabuddin (Khawaja Nazimuddin's younger

brother), H.S. Suhrawardy and some others. Suhrawardy was the driving force. The only prominent person in the political life of Bengal at the time who was left out by this strong group, was A.K. Fazlul Haq who, in his own interest, had to swim on his own or drown. There was a younger and leftist element at the time which was searching for a leader of stature. It comprised of Nausher Ali, a strong pro-Hindu Congressite, Shamsuddin Ahmed, Humayun Kabir (an individual more pro-Hindu than a Hindu himself who till recently was member of the Indian Government), and Nawabzada Hasan Ali of Bogra. For them, there could be no better person than the veteran, A.K. Fazlul Haq. The Party which they constituted with Fazlul Haq at its head bore the name Nikhil Bangla Krishak Praja Samity.

Neither of the two parties which came into existence on the eve of elections with the sole object of grabbing power and its attendant patronage, wanted to have truck with the All-India Muslim League. The Provincial Muslim League did not exist except in name. It had died years before through indifference and neglect. The United Muslim Party of Bengal and the Krishak Praja did not want any interference from outside quarters. They wanted to rule in accordance with their own wishes and not involve themselves with a party which operated on an All-India basis.

So, when the invitations were received, formal meetings of the two parties' leaders were called. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Nooruddin and I attended the meeting of the United Muslim Party in response to an invitation received from Suhrawardy, although we still remained members of the *New Muslim Majlis*.

The meeting was held one evening—the date is not of importance—at the residence of M. Azizul Haq in Loudon Street, Calcutta. The prominent leaders of the Party were present and, in the discussions that took place, the consensus of opinion was patently that the invitation received should not be taken notice of; that the leaders concentrate their attention on the coming elections in the Province, gain a majority and form the first government under the new Constitution. It was at this stage of the proceedings that the “Three Musketeers” as Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, Nooruddin and I were called, declared in turn that we could not subscribe to the majority views; that we had to respond to the call of an all-India political organisation of long standing and had to evolve as soon as possible a system which would produce an all-India policy for Muslims and fight for their rights on an all-India basis. If Muslims had to progress politically, we suggested, it was necessary for them not to

act in a haphazard fashion, each group and province striking out on its own, but to organise their thinking and actions and express them through one central body. But ours were the only voices which expressed this point of view. Effort was made by some of the other members present to dissuade us from going to Lahore. We, however, made it clear that their request could not be accepted and that in the overall interest of the Muslims of India, we were determined to attend the meeting at Lahore. And this Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and I did as Nooruddin could not leave Calcutta at the time.

When we reached Lahore, we discovered that we were the only two who had responded to the invitation sent to the forty Bengal leaders and workers and generally the response which the Muslim League President received to the invitation from all over India was poor. From Assam, one or two responded. Abdul Matin Chowdhury, the Honorary Secretary of the Parliamentary Board, was, of course, one. The rest of the leaders of the Province, like Sir Saadullah, did not bother as they were busy preparing their provincial field for themselves. The largest and most impressive contingent came from the United Provinces which included Maulana Shaukat Ali, Nawab Ismail Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, Choudhri Khaliquzzaman, the Raja Saheb of Salimpur and Maulana Inayatullah of Feranghi Mahal. Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who afterwards became one of the pillars of the Pakistan movement, later dissociated himself from the Muslim League Parliamentary Board along with the Nawab of Chhattari and Nawab Mohammad Yusuf, because fifty per cent of the seats in Provincial Board had not been given to the National Agriculturist Party of which they were members and also because of the suspicion that, to use Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's words, "this group (Choudhri Khaliquzzaman's group) is regarded with suspicion by the majority of Muslims as having a veiled kinship with the Congress"¹.

In Lahore itself, the response of the Punjab was depressingly poor. Sir Fazle Husain, the political thinker and strategist of Muslim Punjab at the time and a devoted servant of the British, was lying seriously ill at Dalhousie and was calling the play to his followers from his sick bed. He was the uncrowned king of the Punjab before whom bowed the Hindu, Muslim and Sikh stooges of the British. He was the representative of British power in a province known as the

¹ It may be mentioned that after getting elected to the U.P. Assembly Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan joined the Muslim League Party in the Assembly early in 1938.

“sword arm” of India. He too did not want the Muslim League to grow powerful enough to be able to guide the Muslims in provincial matters, although he had been a strong advocate of separate electorate and had previously opposed all attempts at compromise with Hindus. Such a state of affairs would not suit him or his patrons, the British, who knew that a man like Fazle Husain could be controlled and directed but a man like Mohammed Ali Jinnah could not.

Among those who responded from the Punjab were Dr. Mohammed Iqbal, Malik Barkat Ali, Mian Abdul Aziz, Raja Ghazanfar Ali Khan and Muzaffar Ali Khan Qizilbash. Raja Ghazanfar Ali, though elected on Muslim League ticket, later crossed over and became a Parliamentary Secretary in Sir Sikandar Hayat's Unionist Government and Qizilbash, having contested and won the elections as an independent, joined the Unionist Party and remained loyal to it until Partition, that is so long as the Party lived.

The Muslim leaders of the Unionist Party and those who later became Ministers were conspicuous by their absence. Bombay sent a few. Madras was represented by an elderly member of the Central Legislative Assembly. Syed Murtaza Saheb, and Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani represented the Jamiat-ul-Ulema of Delhi.

Thirtysix to thirtyseven persons met first at Mian Abdul Aziz's house and later at Nedou's Hotel under the Chairmanship of Mr. Jinnah to consider the existing political situation and to devise ways and means by which the moribund Muslim League could become an active organisation and participate in the General Elections to be held under the Government of India Act of 1935. The Muslim League wanted to enter the Provincial and Central Legislatures as an organised and disciplined political party and safeguard and further Muslim interests in the religious, political, economic, educational and social spheres. The Muslims had been reduced to their pathetic position because they were not organised nor were they united as their leaders worked for themselves and not for the people.

These ills had to be cured if the Muslim nation was to be lifted from the slough of despondency. Sir Mohammed Iqbal, who was attending despite his throat trouble (cancer) and weakness, expressed the view that it was necessary for Muslims elected to the Provincial Assemblies to be bound by an All-India Muslim League policy and programme so that they could return to the Central Assembly only such Muslims as were pledged to support Muslim rights and

interests arising out of their position as the "second great nation of India". He said: "Those who are now for provincial policies and programmes were themselves instrumental in getting indirect elections for the Central Assembly introduced in the Constitution (of 1935) obviously because this suits the foreign government. Now, when we want to make the best use of this misfortune (i.e. indirect elections) by proposing an All-India scheme of elections (the League Scheme) to be adhered to by the provincial candidates, the same men, again at the instance of the foreign government, have come out to defeat the Muslims in their effort to retain their solidarity as a nation".

The Parliamentary Board, having discussed and reviewed the situation briefly outlined by Dr. Iqbal and also having discussed the question of Wakf Law arising out of the Shahidgunj Mosque agitation, issued a long statement in which it outlined the policy and programme for legislators who were to contest the provincial elections on the Muslim League ticket. This also applied to those who might later be returned to the Central Legislature by the provincial legislators.

In the Manifesto adopted by the Central Parliamentary Board at its meeting at Lahore from 8th to 11th June, 1936, it was stated *inter alia*:

"The inauguration of the Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme of constitution and working thereof had developed and brought forth various forces, and it appears that such power as was available under the Scheme has been captured in the various provinces by reactionary conservative elements in combination with a coterie of men whose sole aim and object is to secure offices and places for themselves wherever and whenever available. This has suited the Government and these two classes have received every encouragement and support with the result that they have not only been a hindrance and an obstacle in the way of the independent and progressive intelligentsia but the people generally have been exploited. Thus was created a double domination of the reactionary forces and the imperialistic power. Our aim is that this domination must cease.

"The main principles on which we expect our representatives in the various legislatures to work will be: (1) that the present Provincial Constitution and the proposed Central Constitution should be replaced immediately by democratic full self-government; (2) and that in the meantime the representatives of the Muslim League in the various Legislatures will utilise the Legislatures in order to extract the maximum benefit out of the Constitution for the uplift of the people in various spheres of national life."

The programme which the Central Parliamentary Board adopted for the guidance of the Muslim League Parties in the Legislatures

contained the following important points:—Protection of the religious rights of the Musalmans; making efforts for repeal of all repressive laws; resistance to all measures which are detrimental to the interest of India, which encroach upon the fundamental liberties of the people and lead to economic exploitation of the country; reduction of heavy cost of administrative machinery and allocation of substantial funds for nation-building departments; nationalisation of Indian Army and reduction of military expenditure; development of industries including cottage industries; regulation of currency, exchange and prices in the interest of economic development of the country; social, educational and economic uplift of the rural population; measures for relief of agricultural indebtedness; making elementary education free and compulsory; protection and promotion of Urdu language and script; measures for the amelioration of the general condition of the Muslims; reduction of heavy burden of taxation; creating a healthy public opinion and general political consciousness throughout the country.

The evening before the conclusion of the deliberations Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and I asked Mr. Jinnah for time to see him, which request he granted. We met him in his suite in Nedou's Hotel and told him that we were impressed by the sincerity of the deliberations that had taken place and although we were not members of the Muslim League and belonged to the *New Muslim Majlis*, a party which had not upto then spread its activities beyond the city of Calcutta, we would be glad to suggest to our Board that we merge in the all-India organisation if we were satisfied that the Muslim League would cease to be, not in words alone but in deeds, a body of arm-chair politicians which had so far confined its activities to meeting once or twice a year and passing pious resolutions and making submissions and recommendations to our rulers to mitigate the injustices perpetrated upon the once great Muslim nation of India.

He assured us that the state of affairs complained of was buried for ever and that the All-India Muslim League would from now on be a live political organisation and a mass movement throughout the country. He emphasised that if we were to exist, as a nation, and to demand and obtain what was due to us, the leadership would have to go in for greater contact with the masses than it had so far done and would have to derive its strength and power from them. We were so touched by the sincerity of his tone and expression that we believed he would do what he was telling us, and we promised to recommend to the members of our Party on our return to Calcutta that we, in one lot, should join the All-India Muslim League

and abandon the aim of forming a provincial party which would only result in benefiting our enemies who by this time gleefully appreciated how a party or people could easily be ruled by playing one against the other, if they were divided.

As there was no Muslim League organisation worth the name in Bengal and there had not been one for some years, Mr. Jinnah appointed Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and myself as organisers and entrusted us with the responsibility of launching the new Muslim League Party in Bengal. He told us that as I was the younger of the two, the main responsibility of running around and getting things done lay on my shoulders. He assured me that the task, although difficult, was not impossible to achieve and that, given the will and the drive, he felt confident that it would not be long before the Muslim League as a political organisation of the Muslims would start functioning in the province. After giving us instructions, he bade us godspeed in our undertaking and assured us that he would be available for advice and assistance whenever we needed it and that he would go to any place to which he was summoned to render the help that was required of him.

Before I pass on from the Lahore meeting of the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, I shall record an incident which both surprised and hurt me to the quick.

In the course of the Parliamentary Board meeting several speeches were delivered in keeping with our tradition and weakness for speech-making. On the first day, I remember Mufti Kifayatullah and Maulana Husain Ahmad Madani supporting Mr. Jinnah and welcoming his move to bring the Muslim League into the arena of live politics. But on the last day, one of these two men of learning put forth the suggestion that to ensure the success of the League as a party at the polls, effective and relentless propaganda would be necessary and for that purpose, Deobund would place its machinery at the League's disposal on condition that the cost of the propaganda be borne by the League. To start with, it was estimated that Rs. 50,000 would be necessary. The League had not, of course, fifty coppers in its coffers. The President and Secretary, both honorary, carried their offices in their respective portmanteaux.

The maulanas knew the financial position of the League better than most of us present. So they must have expected the obvious response to their proposal. Mr. Jinnah had to tell them that no such funds were available nor did he entertain hopes of collecting the

amount in the immediate future. He appealed to all to work with whatever resources they could muster and to produce some positive results. "If the people know that we sincerely mean to work for their good", he said, "money would come without doubt. But let us first work."

How true his words were was proven in later years when he succeeded in making the Muslims the third power in the land, the British and the Hindus being the other two. The peoples' response to his appeals for funds in later days was always prompt and generous. Money poured in from two annas to lacs from all corners of the country. But, as I have said, this was in later years. In June 1936, however, the Muslim League had no funds and Mr. Jinnah could not, therefore, accept the offer of the maulanas to place the propaganda machinery of the Deobund Seminary at his disposal on condition of financial support.

The maulanas appeared disappointed. They drifted in the direction of the Hindu Congress and conducted propaganda for the Congress Party which, of course, could meet their financial demands. This was a bitter shock to me as I did not expect men learned in religion to become obstacles in the way of Muslims who were struggling for their national freedom. I could never dream that such venerable gentlemen could place personal and parochial interests before those of the nation.

Mr. Jinnah, after the Lahore meeting, became very active and worked hard. He toured the provinces. He not only set up Boards where they did not exist but gave life and impetus to the Boards which had started to function.

Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and I, on our way back from Lahore, were happy that we responded to the call of Mr. Jinnah and were grateful that both our time and money were well spent. We were overjoyed to find that Muslim top leadership was awakening to the need of re-organising the All-India Muslim League and of organising the masses for the struggle that lay ahead and appeared to be unavoidable. On the day of our arrival at Calcutta, we met Nooruddin and our other colleagues of the *New Muslim Majlis*. We reported what had happened at the meeting and also advised them of our private interview with Mr. Jinnah. After some discussion, it was agreed that we should work for the establishment of branches of the Muslim League in the provinces because without a single and united All-India Party, it would become difficult, if not impossible,

for the Muslims to achieve their political destiny. So, with the fervour of converts we started work first in Calcutta.

It was at this time that political activity and rivalry of the two parties, namely the United Muslim Party and the Krishak Praja Party, was reaching a high pitch. An all-Bengal Conference of the United Muslim Party was called some days later at Calcutta. It was held at the Town Hall on August 9, 1936 and was to last three days. A large number of delegates from all over the province were to attend. It appeared that if the Conference were held and was declared a success not only by the organisers but also by honest observers, the United Muslim Party would gain a flying start in the race for supremacy in the province and would attain such a position of strength that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to negotiate with it and bring it down to earth to see reason. Therefore, something had to be done soon if the position had to be kept fluid.

On the morning of the Conference, which was to start in the afternoon, Nooruddin and I evolved a plan and with it went to A.K. Fazlul Haq's house in Jhawtolla Road. Fortunately for us, he was not surrounded by dozens of men and students. Only two of his nephews, the Morshed brothers, were there at the time. We told him of the meeting which was to commence in the afternoon and assured him that if all went well as expected by the organisers, he would be left on a limb and would not be able to make headway during the coming elections, because the following which the United Muslim Party would have would be big and the money they would accumulate for organising and contesting the elections in the province would run into several lacs of rupees. Having heard us with patience and nodding his head on and off, he asked what should be done to prevent this from happening. He was told that to our thinking the matter appeared simple if he would agree to our plan. On being questioned as to what it was, we unfolded it as under :

As the time was short between 11 a.m. and 3 p.m. he should whip up as many supporters of his as he could and attend the Conference at the Town Hall. He should not walk into the Hall with dozens of followers but make his entry as unostentatious as possible and at the same time arrange that his followers do likewise and scatter themselves in the Hall. They should sit silently until the proceedings opened after the reading of the Holy Quran and the opening remarks of the President of the meeting, the Nawab of Dacca, had ended. Thereafter, he should stand up and try to make a speech on the line that these big men had gathered to grab power, privileges

and patronage of office and leave out sincere and long-time servants of the people like him, thereby creating a rift in Muslim ranks when unity was so essential for success in the elections. He said that they would not allow him to speak. He was assured that that would be the case; that was what we hoped would happen. "The moment there are shouts of 'sit down' or 'who are you', 'you are not invited', 'you do not belong to this Party', etc., etc., you should not sit down but continue your speech and we and your followers would immediately launch a counter-offensive of shouting down the shouters. Pandemonium is bound to result which may even cause the adjournment, if not the breaking up of the Conference on its very first day".

Fazlul Haq appreciated that our proposal was a gamble but on thinking it over and on the advice of his nephews who were both fiery and enthusiastic young men, he accepted the plan and set to work through his lads to collect some of his trusted men and to order them to go to the Town Hall. Nooruddin and I along with some of our *New Muslim Majlis* colleagues went to the Town Hall on the invitation of the organisers and took our seats not on the dais but a little further away from it. Fazlul Haq was already there with his staunch supporters. They were sitting like disciplined school-boys in the fairly large gathering which had assembled.

According to programme, the meeting started with recitation from the Holy Quran and the Chairman of the Meeting rose to make his introductory remarks of welcome to the delegates and to explain the purpose of the Conference. Immediately thereafter, Fazlul Haq stood up and started to address the meeting. As expected, shouts from the dais were first heard calling upon him to sit down and to shut up. The more he was reprimanded, the more he insisted on speaking at the top of his voice. Reprimands became general with thundering shouts. Then Fazlul Haq's smaller but equally vociferous army went into action demanding that they had no right to treat the veteran leader and servant of Muslim Bengal in such a fashion and that he had every right to address the gathering. These shouts and counter-shouts made the conduct of serious business impossible. At the moment when there was a slight lull Nooruddin and I stood up and shouted that we be given a very brief hearing. I still cannot fathom why permission was given to us because we were not even members of the United Muslim Party but were viewed with sympathy by the High Command of the Party. Appeal for silence was made and I addressed the gathering with words to this effect:

That what had happened in the Town Hall was most regrettable; that instead of meeting and thrashing out differences there should be such an open conflict between Muslims on the eve of the elections and that as a dispute had unfortunately arisen, it was necessary that it be resolved and for the purpose I would suggest that a neutral person of national status, namely Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, President of the All-India Muslim League, be invited to Calcutta immediately.

Fazlul Haq readily accepted the proposal and thereby forced the United Muslim Party to follow suit. If they did not, they would have lost prestige not only among their own followers but also among the Muslims in the province and elsewhere. Hurried consultations in whispering tones took place on the dais between the top leaders and within a minute or so the Chairman of the meeting stood up and announced his acceptance of the proposal. It was agreed that Mr. Jinnah would meet Mr. Fazlul Haq of the Krishak Praja Party and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, leader of the United Muslim Party, and in consultation with both, draw up an agreed programme which would be of maximum benefit to the Muslims of Bengal. That was the end to the meeting and to the proclaimed three-day Conference which did not last much more than an hour! The large crowd, which had gathered, moved out of the Town Hall, and many of those who had come from the districts for a three-day stay left for their homes by the night train.

For us, our plan had worked and we were thankful to Providence for it. We rushed back to my house and immediately drafted a telegram to Mr. Jinnah at Bombay explaining to him what had happened in the afternoon in the Town Hall and demanding that he should, on receipt of the telegram, make prompt arrangements to leave for Calcutta. We had not forgotten his promise in Lahore that he would be available at short notice anywhere to serve the cause of the League. The next morning we received his reply that he was leaving by the Mail and would be reaching Calcutta on August 17. The only persons who went to receive Mr. Jinnah at the Howrah Station platform were my elder brother, Mirza Ahmad Ispahani, Khwaja Nooruddin and I. How different was this spectacle from what became the rule sometime later when the approaches to Howrah Station both from the bridge and Howrah town side and the whole station itself became a mass of seething humanity, sometimes an hour before the scheduled time of Mohammed Ali Jinnah's arrival at Howrah. We brought him to our home at 5, Camac Street.

We saw the iron red hot and we struck. We announced the speedy response of Mr. Jinnah to the invitation of the leaders of the United Muslim Party to visit Bengal and to use his best endeavour to bring about peace, understanding and unity in the divided ranks of Muslim Bengal and to bring the United Muslim Party and the Krishak Praja under the banner of the All-India Muslim League. We also announced that he was staying at 5, Camac Street, where adequate arrangements had been made to receive individuals and delegations who desired to call on, or to discuss matters with Mr. Jinnah. The talks commenced the next day, the previous evening having been taken up with our briefing him on the latest political situation in the province and in telling him of the many stresses and strains and influences under which Muslim Bengal had creaked so long. Of course, he knew our past history much better than we youngsters did. It was decided also that I should become his A.D.C.-cum-Private Secretary and attend to his appointments and conference arrangements.

For several days the talks went on, first with one group and then with the other, covering the same beaten track over and over again. First Mr. Jinnah tried hard to get the two Parties to unite and come under the All-India Muslim League's common banner. He failed because each did not want the other and, what was more, each distrusted the other. When he confessed failure on this approach, he busied himself in trying to win one of the two Parties to the side of the All-India Muslim League, to join hands with it and put up candidates in the coming elections on the Muslim League ticket. The negotiations which went on and the masterly part Mr. Jinnah played in first pressuring the one and next the other Party will not be forgotten by me, an eye witness to all that happened in the three rooms on the ground floor of 5, Camac Street. Each Party's leadership appeared overawed by the personality of Mr. Jinnah. Each Party's yielding of ground gave Mr. Jinnah added strength and courage to strike a harder bargain with the other. He conducted the negotiations with such brilliance and skill that after some days the leaders of Muslim Bengal were in a state of daze and stupor. They had been reduced to a stage where they did not know whether they were going or coming! Mr. Jinnah was out to unite Muslim Bengal under the banner of the All-India Muslim League so that it could face the Hindus with confidence and secure its full rights.

By the third day's morning, it appeared that Fazlul Haq's Party would accept the proposal to merge with the Muslim League. And it would have so happened had it not been for some of the extremist and young elements in his camp who demanded certain safeguards

and the adoption of lines of policy which Mr. Jinnah could not accept or commit himself to in advance. But outside the conference room word spread in the United Muslim Party's camp that agreement between Fazlul Haq and Mr. Jinnah was a matter of touch and go. The architects of the United Muslim Party then decided to join the Muslim League, much to the bitter disappointment of the Fazlul Haq group who were out-manoeuvred at the last moment.

The United Muslim Party accepted unconditionally that :

- (a) It would go into voluntary liquidation.
- (b) Its members would join the All-India Muslim League.
- (c) The Muslim League in Bengal would put up candidates in Bengal on its own ticket.

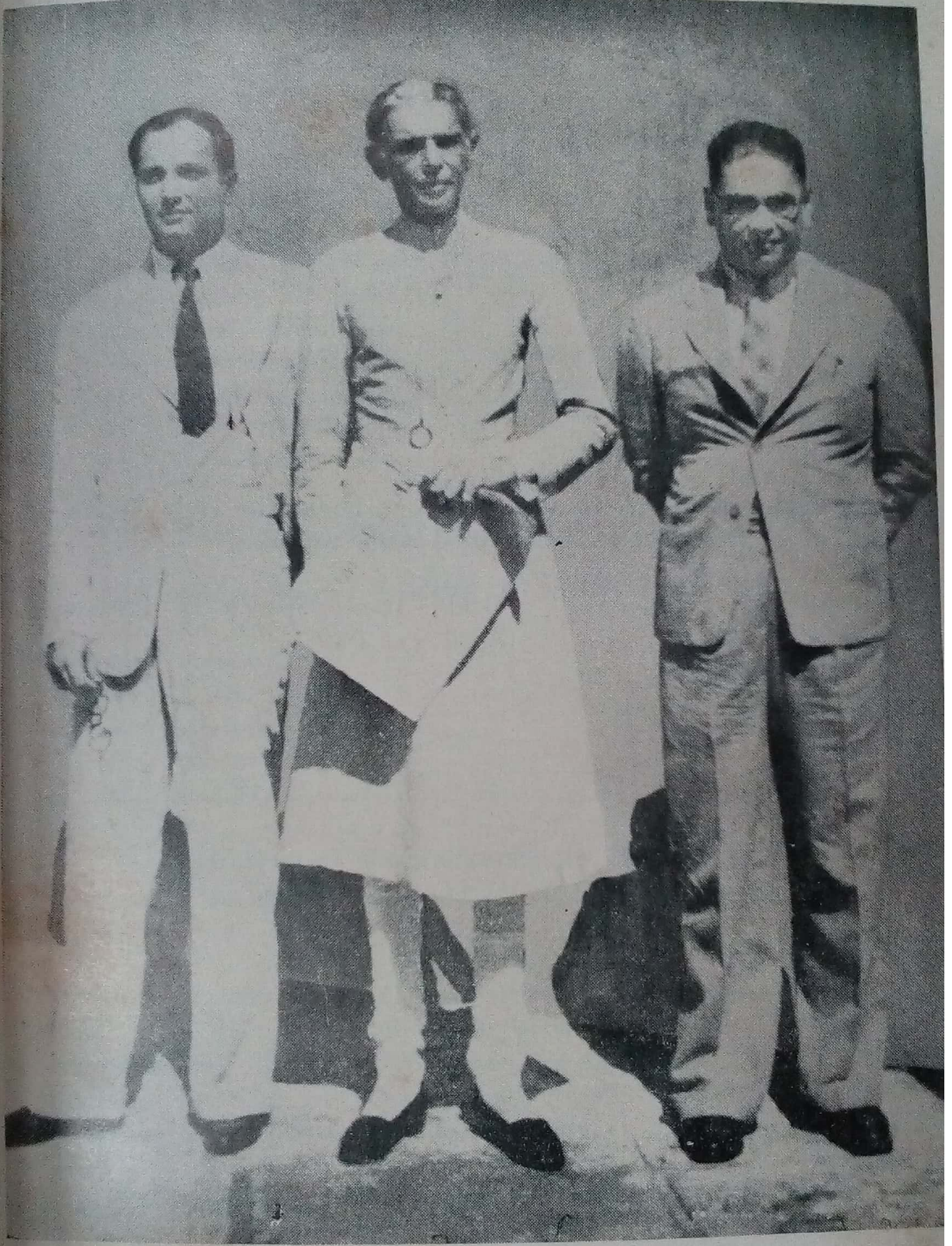
Almost simultaneously, we of the *New Muslim Majlis* officially announced the dissolution of our Party and joined the Muslim League unconditionally. There could not have been a greater achievement at the time for the President or for the Muslim League.

Mr. Fazlul Haq's Nikhil Bangla Krishak Praja Samity had lost in the bargain because the young and extremist elements in his group wanted to capture the League on their own terms and did not realise that Mr. Jinnah was too seasoned a politician and too hard a nut to crack. As soon as the United Muslim Party capitulated, Mr. Haq felt that he was left out in the cold and blamed the younger and hot-headed elements in his Party for his predicament. However, on being further persuaded and pressed by Mr. Jinnah, he eventually agreed that :

(a) The Krishak Praja too would wind up its organisation and political activity and join and organise the Muslim League along with the United Muslim Party and the *New Muslim Majlis*.

(b) Mr. Jinnah would set up a Parliamentary Board which would run the future elections on behalf of the All-India Muslim League.

The Parliamentary Board was duly constituted by Mr. Jinnah on the basis of equality of representation of the United Muslim Party and the Krishak Praja Party with a certain number outside the two parties nominated by himself.



At Calcutta with Khwaja Nooruddin and myself—1936

“We Musalmans believe in one God, one book, the Holy Quran—
one Prophet. So we must stand united as one nation.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at Peshawar
April 17, 1948.

The following represented the United Muslim Party on the Board:

Nawab Khwaja Habibullah of Dacca
Khwaja Nazimuddin
Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy
Maulana Mohamed Akram Khan
Maulana Abdullah-el-Baki
Sir A. F. Rahman
Mr. Tamizuddin Khan
Khwaja Shahabuddin

The Krishak Praja's representatives, among others were:

Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq
Mr. Nausher Ali
Mr. Hasan Ali of Bogra
Mr. Syed Badruddoja
Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed

Mr. Jinnah's nominees were:

Mr. Mirza Ahmad Ispahani
Mr. K. Nooruddin
Mr. Aziz Ansari
Mr. A. R. Siddiqi
Mr. Abdullah Gangee
Mr. Sikander Dehlavi
Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani

The formation of the Parliamentary Board was the eventual outcome of the agreement reached by the various groups of Muslims in Bengal.

At the first meeting of the Parliamentary Board so constituted, major differences of opinion sprang between Mr. Fazlul Haq's group and ourselves. This occurred when the election platform was being drafted. Mr. Haq and his extremist coterie wanted to include the following points in the manifesto:

- (1) That zamindari be abolished without compensation.
- (2) That there be in the province of Bengal universal free primary education, without taxation.

We, who were opposed to both these measures as they stood, argued that so far as the abolition of zamindari was concerned, we were in agreement but to abolish it without payment of compensation would be against Islam and even the good conscience of an atheist. As for free primary education, we held that although we were as anxious as Mr. Fazlul Haq and his group to have free primary education, we could not do so because the provincial budget could not carry the burden. We, therefore, suggested that a tax levy be made to provide the funds for free primary education.

Our counter proposals which were both sensible and practical were not acceptable to Mr. Fazlul Haq's group for the reason that they were not vote-catching. Therefore, the solidarity which Mr. Jinnah proposed to establish through a common Parliamentary Board came to nought before the general elections. Mr. Haq, as he was accustomed, resorted to the press to justify his position. As his statements had some inaccuracies, I was compelled to deal with them through the same medium. The statement published in the *Star of India*, Calcutta, dated September 3, 1936, contained the following lines:

"Again, Mr. Fazlul Haq's complaint of having been slighted by not being even consulted as to which day would be suitable to him and to his Party for the first meeting of the Muslim League Parliamentary Board of Bengal, here too Mr. Fazlul Haq is incorrect and his charge cannot be maintained. No particular individual or party was responsible for the fixing of the date of the first meeting of the Board. Mr. Jinnah suggested that no more time should be lost and the first meeting of the Board should be called in three days, by when, Mr. Shamsuddin Ahmed (Mr. Fazlul Haq's Party man) would send in the names of the Bengal Krishak Samity's representatives. It was the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca and some of us who suggested that a later day would be better as it would give the Samity more time to meet and to select their representatives. Mr. Jinnah agreed and September 6 was unanimously agreed upon as the date of the meeting. While Mr. Fazlul Haq feels that it would be dangerous for him to challenge the necessity for having a single Muslim political organisation in Bengal, he threatens, at the same time, to go to the Board for the sake of appearance and then to walk out of it. This is neither fair to those who have joined the Board nor to himself. He should abstain from drawing conclusions before giving the Muslim League Parliamentary Board an honest trial. The Board, as it is constituted today, represents more than one party and no single party enjoys a position of domination over any other. We have all got together to work for a common cause, namely the unity of the Muslims of Bengal and this must be and shall be achieved at all cost. We must all work as a team and bury petty jealousies and suspicions.

"I have restricted myself to a bare narration of facts and I have avoided entering into any controversy on the other points raised by Mr. Fazlul Haq. Having entered the Board, I claim that the issuing of controversial

29

statements to the public must cease and differences of opinion amongst its members, if any, must be brought to the proper forum for solution and decision."

Mr. Fazlul Haq's Praja Party decided to contest the elections on its own ticket. The Muslim League Party also contested the general elections and emerged as the largest Muslim Party in the Bengal Legislature, capturing 40 seats out of the 119 reserved for Muslims. Mr. Fazlul Haq's Party secured 38 seats. The Legislature of 1937 contained a substantial group of independents most of whom later joined the Muslim League. Notwithstanding its strength, the Muslim League in its anxiety to maintain solidarity, offered the Prime Ministership of Bengal to Mr. Fazlul Haq who accepted the offer and brought with him a section of his more "moderate" Praja followers. Thus, after a very long time, the Muslims regained political power in the Bengal which their forbears had once ruled. But, as historians must have recorded, in 1941 Mr. Fazlul Haq betrayed the Muslim League and joined hands with Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose of the Congress Party and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee, leader of the Hindu Mahasabha. He, the Nawab of Dacca and some others walked into the enemy's camp, taking with them a large number of our Party followers to support the newly formed coalition government of Mr. Fazlul Haq and the Hindus, for the sake of loaves and fishes which such support brought them.

It was then that we found that the hard core of the Muslim League in Bengal consisted of only 35 members! The rest who masqueraded as Muslim Leaguers were just Muslim Leaguers to suit their own interests and not to follow, as in a decent society, the dictates of their conscience. This Hindu-supported and Hindu-sponsored coalition did not last very long because the Muslim League being in opposition and working night and day to regain power, made life impossible for Mr. Fazlul Haq and his Muslim colleagues in Calcutta and in the province. And the Muslim League remounted its steed and galloped all the way through without any serious opposition until the 1946 elections when it literally crushed the opposition and totally annihilated the floating element in the Legislature which had made it a normal practice to sell its votes to the highest bidder.

There had been some sort of understanding between the Congress and Muslim League candidates to lend moral support to each other because the Congress had no chance in Muslim constituencies and was not very sure of capturing a big majority of General Seats. In his speeches during the election campaign, Mr. Jinnah repeatedly expressed sentiments of goodwill towards the Congress and

emphasised the need for friendly co-operation between the League and the Congress. For instance, in one speech he said: "Ours is not a hostile movement. Ours is a movement which carries the olive branch to every community. We are willing to co-operate, we are willing to coalesce with any group or groups, provided their ideals, their objects are approximately the same as ours"². There was, however, a sudden change in the Congress attitude as soon as the election results were known. The unexpected success at the polls had an upsetting effect on the Congress leaders' mental balance. They spurned the idea of co-operation with the other parties in the country. And Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru declared in a militant tone that there were only two parties in the country—the Congress and the British Government—and others had to line up. This statement evoked a spirited reply from Mr. Jinnah who said: "We are not going to be the camp-followers of any party or organisation.... I refuse to line up. There is a third party in the country and that is the Muslims. We are not going to be dictated to by anybody."³

Instead of following the straight and only honourable course of forming coalition cabinets with the Muslim League on the basis of an agreed programme, there being many common points in the programmes of the two parties, the Congress proceeded to win over individual Muslim Leaguers by holding out allurements of office and thus demoralising and disrupting the ranks of the League. In the Central Provinces, Bihar, Bombay and Madras, the Congress enticed a stray Muslim Leaguer or independent Muslim member to sign the Congress pledge in exchange for a Ministership or a Parliamentary Secretaryship.

For various reasons, the League in the United Provinces occupied a pivotal position. The Congress made a special effort to create a situation designed to bring about the merger of the Muslim League Party in the Congress Party because it was thought that such a consummation would deal a serious, if not a death blow, to the League's existence as an All-India organisation. I would, therefore, describe the Congress machinations in the U.P. at some length.

Maulana Abul Kalam Azad in his book "India Wins Freedom" gives an account of his negotiations with Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, leader of the Muslim League Party in the U.P. Assembly, which

² Quoted in K.B. Sayeed's *Pakistan the Formative Phase*.

³ K. B. Sayeed: *Pakistan the Formative Phase*.

creates the impression that no question of policy or principle was involved and it was only a question of accommodating one or two Muslim Leaguers in the Cabinet. The Congress wanted to include two Muslims in the UP Ministry to give it the semblance of a "national" Cabinet, but it was faced with a difficulty. No Muslim had been elected to the UP Assembly on the Congress ticket. Before the Assembly could be called to meet for its first session, a Muslim League member, Thakur Asghar Ali Khan, elected from Bahraich district, died. It was a safe seat for the League. It was generally expected that the UP Muslim League Parliamentary Board would put up a candidate in the by-election. Mr. Jinnah had, in a statement, declared: "We have decided to contest the seat which was won by the Muslim League at Bahraich. The member who won the seat, I sorrowfully have to say, is no more with us. So we have to capture the seat again. The Congress, I believe, is going to contest this seat. It will be a great mistake on the part of the Congress to do so...."⁴ Mr. Jinnah's statement was unambiguous but it is regrettable that his directive was not followed and a Muslim League seat was lost to the Congress as a result. No League candidate was put up and a Congress leader named Mr. Rafi Ahmad Kidwai was allowed to be elected unopposed. In his book "India Wins Freedom—the Other Side" (Page 88) Mr. Abdul Wahid Khan, a protege of Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, testifies that "he (Kidwai) too had won the seat in a by-election through the support of Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman".

The Congress, through Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, approached the leader of the UP Muslim League Parliamentary Party, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, over the head of the President of the All-India Muslim League, Mr. Jinnah, knowing that the League at the time was not a well-knit and strong organisation. The parleys were conducted in a manner which made it clear that the Congress's intention was to seduce Muslim Leaguers by offering baits of office and thereby kill the Muslim League Party. These developments were causing serious concern in Muslim League circles as is evident from the following statement issued by Syed Mohammed Husain of Allahabad, a prominent Muslim League leader in UP and member of the Council of State: "What a dreadful plot against both the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah! Mr. Jinnah becomes convinced that nothing can be done to the advantage of the Muslim community unless the Muslims of different shades of opinion are brought under one strong and progressive organisation, that is the Muslim League. His desire was to ask those who

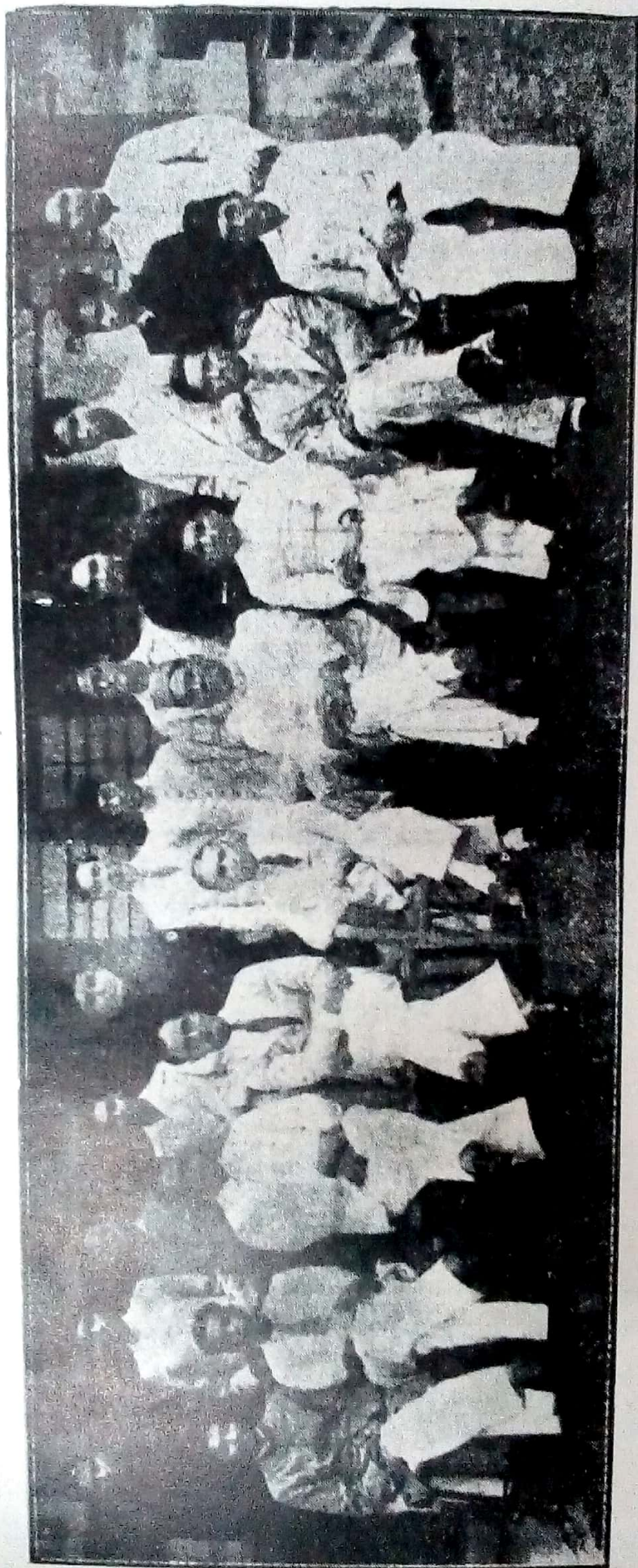
4 M. H. Saiyid: *Mohammed Ali Jinnah (a political study)*.

were going unduly fast to slacken their pace and to make those who were hardly advancing to quicken their steps so that the whole community should advance together. He worked very hard for it and, in spite of good many handicaps and obstacles, had succeeded to a great extent. He was naturally inclined towards the more advanced section and, in his zeal to secure their co-operation, he yielded to them on more than one occasion. They, however, accepted the principle of consolidating the Muslims of all schools of thought under the banner of the Muslim League and gave Mr. Jinnah an undertaking to that effect.

“Mr. Jinnah placed confidence in them and asked them to go ahead. Alas, his confidence was misplaced and how some of them betrayed him, at least, in UP. His idea was to organize the Muslims to stand against the Congress which had entirely ignored the existence of Muslims in India except for the purpose of exploiting and had become too arrogant and anti-Muslim. Yet Mr. Jinnah wanted the Muslims to become strong enough to advance side by side with any progressive group. It was in the name of the Muslim League and Mr. Jinnah that the candidates went about canvassing for votes and preaching Mr. Jinnah's principles of organisation of Muslims and succeeded in the elections.

“But what they did and are doing after their success in the election does no credit to the Congressite Muslims. The hands of the Congress are not invisible in the UP Parliamentary Board and, although some had their own suspicions, they pursued the policy of ‘wait and see’ and allowed the election to be over. Immediately the elections finished and the Congress was returned with a majority, its hands became very prominent in the activities of the UP Parliamentary Board.”

Syed Mohammed Husain narrated the circumstances in which Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman got himself nominated as the leader of the Party, which was the bitterest pill that the whole gathering had to swallow. Then followed the decision not to oppose the Congress candidate in the Bahraich constituency. He added: “The policy of the League was to work the Reform and what right had Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman to say ‘no’ in his individual capacity? In the same way, when the Raja of Salimpur accepted a portfolio, although the manner of accepting it may be open to criticism, Mr. Khaliquzzaman joins in condemnation. The policy of consolidating the Muslims of all shades of opinion has been thrown overboard and the so-called Muslim League Parliamentary Board hoisted the Congress colours.



At Calcutta with the Committee of the Bengal Muslim Students Federation—1936 (on his right, myself and K. Nooruddin. his left, A. K. Fazlul Haq and Waseq)

“The only weapon that you have to forge—and the sooner you forge the better—is to create your own strength, your own power so that you can face any danger, any power, any opponent, any enemy singly or combined.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Presidential Address,
Madras, April, 1941.

"The invitation to the All-India Muslim League to hold its session at Lucknow, which the Muslim League had accepted, has been disowned or, at least, cancelled. The design was pre-arranged and the idea was to stop the Muslim League from holding its session anywhere in the near future so that the Congress may be able to steal a march over the League."⁵

In conclusion Syed Mohammed Husain warned his co-religionists not to fall into the Congress trap and to rally around Mr. Jinnah.

Mr. Jinnah took serious notice of the matter and issued a press statement warning against the consequences of such subterfuges: "I understand that there is a move to invite to the meeting of members of the Congress to be held on May 2 and May 3, some Muslim members who have been elected to the United Provinces Legislative Assembly on the Muslim League ticket and also a conference is going to be convened at Allahabad. I am entirely in the dark as to what the object of this move is. But I want to make it clear that it will be useless for any individual or individuals to effectively carry the Muslims behind them if any settlement is arrived at with a particular group or even for the matter of that the whole of the province.

"I say it is a pity that these roundabout efforts are made. The only object of it can be to create some differences between the Muslims. It is no use dealing with those men who are in and out of the Congress and the Muslim League at one time with one and at another time with the other, as it suits them. I am sure that the Muslims of the United Provinces will not betray the Muslims of India and therefore any effort to settle by individuals which may be advantageous to them for the time being will not carry us anywhere.

"I have been promised by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman, leader of the Muslim League Party in UP Legislature, that he will let me know what the situation is in the United Provinces. I have sent him reminders and I am waiting to hear from him for the last three weeks. I cannot understand the mystery of his silence. I only trust that he will not enter into any commitment which may be repudiated not only by the Muslims of his province but the Muslims of India.

"The method of dealing with individuals or groups can only result in isolating and dividing the Muslims group by group or province by province and in destroying the united front."⁶

⁵ *The Pioneer*, Lucknow, dated April 21, 1937.

⁶ *Times of India*, Bombay, dated April 26, 1937.

Messrs. Abul Kalam Azad and Jawaharlal Nehru formulated terms and conditions for including Muslim League members in the Cabinet which were:

(1) The Muslim League group in the UP Legislature shall cease to function as a separate group.

(2) The existing members of the Muslim League Party in the UP Assembly shall become part of the Congress Party and will fully share membership of the Party. They will likewise be subject to control and discipline of the Congress Party in an equal measure with other members and the decision of the Congress Party as regards work in the Legislature and general behaviour of its members shall be binding on them. All matters shall be decided by a majority vote of the Party, each member having one vote.

(3) The policy laid down by the Congress Working Committee for their members in the Legislatures along with the instructions issued by the competent Congress bodies pertaining to their work in such legislatures shall be faithfully carried out by all members of the Congress Party including these members.

(4) The Muslim League Parliamentary Board in the UP will be dissolved and no candidate will thereafter be set up by the said Board at any by-election. All members of the Party shall actively support any candidate that may be nominated by the Congress to fill a vacancy hereafter.

(5) All members of the Congress Party shall abide by the rules of the Congress Party and offer their full co-operation with a view to promoting the interest and prestige of the Congress.

(6) In the event of the Congress Party deciding on resignation from the Ministry and the Legislature, the members of the aforementioned group shall be bound by that decision.

These terms were conveyed to Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad with a note which stated: "It was hoped that if these terms were agreed to and the Muslim League group of members joined the Congress Party as full members, that group would cease to exist as a separate group. In the formation of the Provincial Cabinet, it was considered proper that they should have representatives".⁷

⁷ Reginald Coupland: *India a Restatement*.

It is indeed amazing as to how the Congress leaders had the effrontery to put forward such terms and conditions which no self-respecting party could ever entertain. However, Abdul Wahid Khan, who in his book "India Wins Freedom—the Other Side" (Page 81) claims to have first-hand knowledge of the Azad-Khaliquzzaman negotiations, remarks: "They (The UP League leaders) were willing to be subject to Congress discipline in the matter of economic programme and to resign from the government in case the Congress decided to resign. They were also prepared not to contest any by-election in opposition to Congress Muslim candidates. That would have amounted to the virtual dissolution of the (League) Parliamentary Board." It must be noted that Nawab Mohammad Ismail Khan, President, UP Provincial Muslim League, was not a party to these negotiations and was strongly opposed to these terms and conditions. Muslim public opinion by this time had become vocal and assertive and the note of warning sounded by Mr. Jinnah in the statement quoted earlier averted the danger of merger of the UP Muslim League Parliamentary Party in the Congress. The Azad-Khaliquzzaman parleys fell through and the Muslim League was saved from the sinister designs of the Congress and the Muslims of India from a catastrophe from which there would not have been an easy recovery. On that occasion, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman had led us almost to the brink of disaster and our national hero and leader, Mr. Jinnah, saved us.

The Congress High Command adopted a similar attitude towards the Muslim League in Bombay. According to the testimony of Mr. Kanji Dawarkadas, a prominent Hindu leader of Bombay: "Kher, the Chief Minister-designate, before forming the Ministry, saw Jinnah. He requested Jinnah to give him two members of his Muslim League to join in the Ministry. Jinnah readily agreed and offered his and the Muslim League's fullest co-operation to the Congress Ministry. But what happened? Kher told me the whole story and later Jinnah confirmed it. The High Command, Sardar Patel in particular, took Kher to task for having approached Jinnah. The High Command wanted no truck with Jinnah. So, Kher's request for the two Muslim Leaguers in the Ministry was turned into a demand by the Congress that the Muslim Leaguers must resign from the Muslim League and join the Congress and then only would they be taken as Ministers. This was a humiliating condition for the Muslim League to accept. Jinnah rightly resented it. He, therefore, summarily rejected the Congress suggestion. He wanted to co-operate with the Congress Ministry but not by liquidating and sabotaging his own party."⁸

⁸ Kanji Dawarkadas: *India's Fight for Freedom*, Bombay 1966.

It did not, perhaps, occur to the Congress leaders at the time that their imperialistic and totalitarian mentality would break up that very 'unity' by which they swore. As soon as they thought that they were strong enough to come to terms with the British, they ignored and slighted the Muslims, forgetting that an awakened nation, even though numerically smaller, could not be suppressed and enslaved by means of a majority in the ballot box or legislature. As Mr. Dwarkadas frankly recognises: "This arrogance and lack of political foresight in July, 1937, was repeated time and again during the next ten years, culminating at last in the division of the country into India and Pakistan."⁹



At his Bombay residence with Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad—1937

“I am no believer in the mission of making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The task is difficult, of course, but you must make earnest effort to promote the interests of the masses without necessarily disturbing the equilibrium in the bargain.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at a dinner party given by the late Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah at Karachi August 9, 1947.

1955 when Prime Minister Mohamed Ali Bogra's Cabinet accepted the new coat of arms, which upto today remains the Government's new emblem.

THE CAPITAL OF PAKISTAN

After some days of discussion on where the Pakistan capital should be established and after careful consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of the cities, including Lahore, Peshawar, Rawalpindi, Quetta and Karachi, it was agreed by the Qaid-e-Azam and his Working Committee that the best suited city was Lahore but as it was too close to the Indian border and was, at the time, functioning as the capital of the province of the Punjab, it would not be a suitable choice. Rawalpindi and its surrounding areas were ruled out because British investigations, carried out thoroughly and at a heavy cost, revealed that there was inadequacy of water to support any expansion of reasonable dimensions in the area. Hyderabad, Peshawar and Quetta were not too seriously considered.

The consensus of opinion led by the Qaid was that Karachi was best suited for the honour but there was a stumbling block which had to be first cleared. The provincial capital of Sind was situated at Karachi and Karachi could not, therefore, become the national capital at the same time. Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, the then Chief Minister of the province, was sent for and the Qaid and Liaquat Ali Khan discussed the Working Committee's proposal with him. He was told that if he complied with our request to shift the capital of Sind outside Karachi, say to Hyderabad, the Centre would move in permanently and meet a substantial portion of the cost of buildings which the Government of Sind will incur in building the legislature, courts, other offices and residential quarters for its officers. The Chief Minister was sympathetic and accommodating. He agreed and asked for a year's time to shift out of Karachi so that adequate time may be given for the completion of essential buildings in Hyderabad. The Qaid agreed as he did not consider any city in West Pakistan more suitable for the seat of the Central Government. For some months after the Central Government had moved in, the Government of Sind functioned in the Napier Barracks section of the city and, later than the promised date, moved out to Hyderabad, leaving its former capital.

There was agitation by some politicians of Sind against carving out Karachi and some adjoining areas for the purpose of location of the national capital. Fears were expressed that it might injure the

interests of Sind. However, when a deputation of Sindhi leaders called on Qaid-e-Azam at Quetta in this connection, he explained the whole position to them in such a convincing manner, as was his wont, that they were satisfied. Their fears were set at rest and the agitation died. And Karachi remained the capital of Pakistan.

HAQ AND SIKANDAR

LIKE all decent men, the Qaid-e-Azam disliked disloyalty. He did not forgive one who was disloyal to the national organisation and the national cause nor did he ever repose his confidence in such a man, however much he may have apparently changed and however much the Qaid needed his help in attaining the goal he had set for himself. One or two incidents would suffice to illustrate this facet of his character, although scores of instances can be cited by one who had the privilege of knowing him a little closely.

He did not forgive Bengal's A. K. Fazlul Haq, the Nawab of Dacca, Sikandar Hayat Khan and Khizr Hayat Tiwana for their disloyalty to the organisation and the cause of the Muslims. They were treated as suspects and men in whom no reliance could be placed. The Bengali Muslim stalwarts had betrayed their own people for personal gains and their Punjabi counterparts remained faithful servants of the British in recognition of the bounties showered by them upon their ancestors.

Mr. Fazlul Haq was expelled from the Muslim League Working Committee in 1941 by the Qaid for letting down the organisation in Bengal and joining hands with the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha—Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose and Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee—to bring about the downfall of the Muslim League government in Bengal which he himself had headed, thereafter emerging as the Chief Minister of Bengal accompanied by the group of Muslim patronage-seekers and strongly supported by the united and calculating Hindus of the Congress and Mahasabha. So far as the Qaid was concerned, the war in Bengal was on two fronts—against the Hindus who were determined to deprive the Muslims of their legitimate share in power and to retain it with the help of their Muslim puppet (Mr. Fazlul Haq) and his band and against Mr. Fazlul Haq and the Nawab Bahadur of Dacca who had been disloyal to the League and had betrayed it at a time when Muslims in Bengal were just beginning to stand on

their feet after years of degradation, humiliation and poverty. Times changed again. After intensive efforts within and outside the Legislature, the humiliating and painful coalition led by Mr. Fazlul Haq and supported financially and in every way possible by the powerful Hindus of Bengal met its Waterloo and Mr. Haq and his followers admitted defeat. Yet, so far as the Qaid was concerned, his attitude towards the fallen betrayers did not change. He would not pardon them for their disloyalty.

I have adequate material on my files relating to Muslim politics in Bengal from 1932 and a fairly complete history of the Muslim League between 1936 and Partition. But this is not an appropriate place for entering into details. I shall confine myself to a few remarks and recapitulation of a few facts concerning Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, the dynamic and unpredictable Muslim figure of Bengal. While I do so, I must in fairness to him state that Mr. Fazlul Haq, in spite of his frailties and inconsistencies, was very tender-hearted. He was always ready to help the poor, especially the needy students. He would, at times, help them by borrowing money. Personally, he was very considerate to me. Suffice it to say that he was a troublesome factor and was, consciously or otherwise, queering the pitch of the Muslim League most of the time. In dealing with him, one did not know where he stood. He arrogated to himself the privilege of changing his mind ten times in as many hours. Consistency was not his *forte*. He could be easily influenced by friends and relations.

Mr. Fazlul Haq filed a suit against Mr. Jinnah in 1942 at Calcutta, which he eventually had to withdraw in 1946 and in September 1946 applied to the District League for admission as member and signed the League Pledge—the very Muslim League which he had, in past years, betrayed more than once.

Mr. Fazlul Haq had accepted membership of the so-called National Defence Council in 1941, which was against the policy of the Muslim League. The League Working Committee gave him ten days' time to resign from the Defence Council. He did comply with the directive but with ill grace. In resigning from the Defence Council, he also resigned from the Muslim League and all the positions he held in the organisation and wrote on September 8, 1941, a letter to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League couched in offensive language, making all sorts of wild accusations against the President, the Working Committee and Council of the All-India Muslim League. The following portions of the letter in particular were most objection-

able: (1) "I maintain that this action of the President was unconstitutional in the highest degree"; (2) "The Working Committee endorsed the action of the President because they had no other alternative before them. If they had refused to ratify the President's action, it would have amounted to a vote of no-confidence in the President and this contingency the Working Committee were not prepared to face. It is for this reason that the Working Committee passed the resolution, a copy of which you have forwarded to me calling upon me to resign unconditionally from the Defence Council"; (3) "But before I conclude I wish to record a most emphatic protest against the manner in which the interests of the Muslims of Bengal and Punjab are being imperilled by Muslim leaders of the provinces where the Muslims are a minority, popularly known among the Muslims as minority provinces of India"; (4) "As a mark of protest against the arbitrary use of powers vested in its President, I beg to tender my resignation from the membership of the Working Committee and the Council of the All-India Muslim League. Much as I deplore this course, I cannot usefully continue to be a member of a body which shows scant courtesy to provincial leaders and which arrogates to itself the functions which ought to be exercised by the provincial executive"; (5) "The President of the All-India Muslim League has signally failed to discharge the heavy responsibilities of his office in a constitutional and reasonable manner"; (6) "In tendering my resignation, I should also like to enter the caveat that recent events have forcibly brought home to me that the principles of democracy and autonomy are being subordinated to the arbitrary wishes of a single individual who seeks to rule over the destiny of 33 millions of Muslims in the province of Bengal who occupy the key position in the Indian Muslim politics".

The Working Committee on 27th October, 1941, called upon Mr. Fazlul Haq to withdraw these allegations and express regret for having cast these aspersions, within ten days of receipt of this resolution.

At this time there was an uproar against Mr. Fazlul Haq's conduct all over India, particularly in Bengal. There were protest meetings demanding that he withdraw the allegations or be expelled from the Muslim League. Ultimately, he addressed on 14th November, 1941, another letter to the Secretary of the All-India Muslim League which stated: "I regret the delay in sending you my reply. It has been due entirely to the poor state of my health, and I did not feel justified in replying to a communication of such serious import without giving the matter most anxious consideration. No one

knows better than the President himself that I have always been a loyal member of the League, have never hesitated to carry out its mandates, and once a decision was constitutionally adopted by it, have never hesitated to obey it, even though that decision might not personally commend itself to me. If there were any doubts in regard to this point, my resignation from the National Defence Council amply proves it. It is an irony of fate that, of all those who have given of their best to build up the only national organisation of Muslim India, I should have been the object of so much misunderstanding and so much uniformed criticism. It appears that portions of my letter have hurt the feelings of the President and some of my other friends. I convey to them through you my assurance that nothing was further from my intention than to hurt the feelings of or to cast aspersions on anyone and I hope that my assurance will be accepted and the matter considered as closed". The Working Committee, in view of Mr. Fazlul Haq's explanation and assurance, decided not to take any further action in the matter.

However, as events showed, Mr. Fazlul Haq only professed lip-loyalty to the League. Although he was still a member of the Muslim League and was heading a Coalition Ministry of which the Muslim League Party was a component part, he began to undermine the League's position. He encouraged the formation of a 'progressive' group of a few Muslim members of the Assembly with himself as leader while he was still President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, leader of the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and member of the Working Committee and Council of the All-India Muslim League. He started a paper called *Nava Joog*, whose policy was to revile the Muslim League. I was keeping the Qaid-e-Azam fully posted with all the developments, particularly Mr. Fazlul Haq's doings. I quote from just one of the letters written by me to the Qaid:

Dear Mr. Jinnah:

1st December, 1941

The fight is on. The Cabinet have tendered their resignation to the Governor today.

On Saturday our friends were out-manoeuvred by the clever fox, Haq. They gave him an opportunity to state that he was with the Coalition Party and that he could not sabotage the Cabinet, while he remained a Minister. He further stated a lot of nonsense in support of a coalition, unity, etc. You must have read this piffle.

Immediately after issuing the statement, he held two meetings of the Progressive Party, several consultations with the Bose and Congress

groups and yesterday morning he presided over the meeting of the Progressive Coalition Party, i.e. a party composed of Haq's men, Praja, the Forward Bloc, Congress and the Independent Scheduled Caste. Also a report was published in the issue of the *Amrita Bazaar* of yesterday to the effect that some of the Ministers had behaved very disrespectfully towards him in the Cabinet meeting and that he could not possibly continue to carry on as their Chief Minister unless the Cabinet was purged of its undesirable elements.

In the afternoon, he realised that this report along with the report of his conducting meetings on the quiet would place him in the wrong once again and would be construed by the Governor as a breach of faith on his part. He came out with a fresh statement which was released to the press this morning. In this he stated that the reports were all false. He thought that by issuing such a statement he would maintain his position and, at the same time, gain valuable time.

He counted without his host, for we were determined to force the issue today as giving of further time was, in our opinion, fatal, because while we stuck to our undertaking as gentlemen, Haq went ahead with his mission to consolidate his position.

A meeting of the Cabinet was held today. Haq got the ball rolling. He said that he was doing everything in his power to patch up the differences and that he had partly succeeded in his effort. He wanted more time to complete his job. Our representatives laughed. It was a joke that they had all heard before. They replied, "It is out of question". He then threatened that there was just one alternative and that was resignation of the Cabinet. Our fellows jumped to it and said, "Yes, we agree—we cannot continue in this fashion". All wrote out their resignations and handed them to the Governor. These have not been accepted so far but it is definite that they will be. The chances are that we may be called upon to constitute the new government. Let us see.

A meeting of the Provincial Working Committee will be held tomorrow to take disciplinary action against those members of the League who have joined the Progressive Party. Haq is one of them.

On the 4th instant a meeting of the Assembly Coalition Party will be held to consider the present situation in Bengal; to consider a censure to be moved against Haq and others who have betrayed the Party; to elect a leader in place of Haq. Inshallah, we shall have a majority in the meeting and, Inshallah, we shall succeed in throwing out the traitors. We shall also elect the leader of the Muslim League Party in the Legislature.

The fight is on. It will be a life and death struggle. Haq, by no means, is a spent force. He has influence and a following. The Hindus are almost daily with him. They are our to divide and crush the Muslims. As I have said before, our cause is just and we shall therefore fight twice as well and twice as bravely....

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Mr. Fazlul Haq then resigned from the Premiership and the Coalition Ministry broke down. He went about collecting signatures of members of the Assembly to signify support for himself by promising loaves and fishes of office. He even went to the extent of joining hands with the inveterate enemies of the Muslims, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mukerjee and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose, for the sake of forming a Ministry and petitioned the Governor to commission him to form the Ministry. During all these months the Qaid-e-Azam exercised the greatest possible patience and gave a long rope to Mr. Fazlul Haq to hang himself with, which he did. A situation had now arisen in which he laid himself open to disciplinary action. In exercise of the authority vested in him, the Qaid-e-Azam expelled Mr. Fazlul Haq from the Muslim League for betraying the organisation.

The Qaid-e-Azam referred to Fazlul Haq's betrayal in his characteristic style during a speech at the conference of the All-India Muslim Students' Federation at Nagpur in December, 1941. He said: "Now I make a Christmas gift of Mr. Haq to Lord Linlithgow! I make another New Year's gift of Nawab of Dacca to the Governor of Bengal. I am very glad and I am happy that Muslim India is rid of these men who are guilty of the grossest treachery and betrayal of Muslim India."

The conduct of the Governor in commissioning Mr. Fazlul Haq to form the Ministry by questionable means was severely criticised by the Qaid-e-Azam at the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Serajganj on February 15, 1942. He said: "The Governor, instead of following the course that has been established by convention in the British Parliament to call the leader of the largest single party, called a man who had been conspiring even as the head of the Government of Bengal, a man who was canvassing for support with his hat in hand before being commissioned, an act to my mind highly improper and derogatory to the honour and prestige of a person who claims to be a leader—a man who had actually petitioned the Governor to commission him to form a Ministry.... Signatures are not obtained, most of them at least, for the mere asking. Promises have to be made. Is this not encouraging corrupt practice among your Legislators? The Coalition Party having been dissolved, His Excellency should have called the leader of the single largest party which was unquestionably the Muslim League Party. Its leader, Sir Nazimuddin, should have been commissioned first..... Sir Nazimuddin is a responsible leader with a clean reputation. He has held responsible positions long before this Constitution came into operation.... As I have said, his record is clean; he is a responsible

man and has acquitted himself honourably throughout his career. It was for Sir Nazimuddin to decide whether he would accept the commission to form a Ministry or not. If he made a mistake and said to His Excellency 'Yes, I will' and had failed to do so or was defeated by a vote of no-confidence, it would have been the funeral of the League and not the funeral of the Governor."¹

Mr. Fazlul Haq, however, was installed in office with an army of Ministers, Parliamentary Secretaries and Whips totalling about fifty in a house of two hundred and fifty—an unheard of event in Parliamentary history. But it was one thing to form a Ministry by corruption and machination and quite another to face the public. The popular will in Bengal unmistakably asserted itself in two by-elections at Natore and Balurghat in which the Muslim League candidates achieved resounding victories over the candidates sponsored by the Haq Ministry in spite of all the pressure and intimidation that his Government could exercise. By April 1943, Mr. Haq's Ministry was swept out of office by the strength of Muslim Bengal's popular will.

Immediately after Mr. Haq's expulsion from the Muslim League and all its committees including the All-India Working Committee, the Qaid-e-Azam nominated me as a member of his Working Committee. The official letter received from him as President of the League in this connection is reproduced below:

10 Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

13th December 1941



Dear Sir,

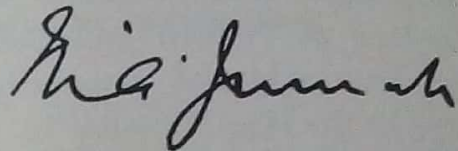
I beg to inform you that I
have appointed you a member of
the Working Committee of the
All-India Muslim League in place

¹ Quoted in Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed's *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*.

30
QAID-E-AZAM AS I KNEW HIM
of the vacancy caused by the
removal of the name of Mr. Fazlul
Haq.

Please acknowledge receipt
and oblige.

Yours faithfully



Hassan Ispahani Esq
5 Camac Street,
Calcutta.

Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan of the Punjab, too, I am sorry to record, was a troublesome man, though different from Mr. Fazlul Haq. He was shrewd and tactful. Although he was my personal friend and had many good qualities, yet, in order to keep the record straight, I have to narrate certain facts plainly. He, with his Unionist followers (Muslim), joined the Muslim League not out of deep conviction but merely as a matter of necessity. With the rise in the power of Congress as a result of success in forming Ministries in seven out of eleven provinces of India, the political situation in the country as a whole was fast changing. There was no imminent threat to the Unionist Ministry but the Congress had started its Muslim mass contact campaign in the provinces including the Punjab and Muslim public opinion everywhere was veering round the Muslim League. As an astute politician, Sir Sikandar realised the potential danger to his Ministry. He knew that the Unionist Ministry by itself could not withstand the tide of Congress totalitarianism unless he secured the support of a Muslim organisation functioning on an all-India plane. A Ministry could not work within the water-tight compartment of a province irrespective of the political forces operating in the sub-con-

tenant. Sir Sikandar also could not have been unaware of the trends of Muslim public opinion in his province. For all these reasons, he decided to throw in his lot with the Muslim League and gave an undertaking at the Lucknow session of the League to get the Muslim wing of the Unionist Party to join the Muslim League. But was he really serious about implementing the undertaking? The answer is provided by the correspondence which Dr. Iqbal, then President of the Punjab Provincial Muslim League, had with Mr. Jinnah.

In his letter of November 10, 1937, Dr. Iqbal wrote to Mr. Jinnah as follows:

"After having several talks with Sir Sikandar and his friends, I am now definitely of the opinion that Sir Sikandar wants nothing less than complete control of the League and the Provincial Parliamentary Board. In your pact with him, it is mentioned that the Parliamentary Board will be reconstituted and that the Unionists will have a majority on the Board. Sir Sikandar tells me that you agreed to their majority on the Board. I wrote to you sometime ago to inquire whether you did agree to the Unionist majority on the Board. So far, I have not heard from you. I personally see no harm in giving him the majority that he wants. But he goes beyond the pact when he wants a complete change in the office holders of the League, especially the Secretary who has done so much for the League. He also wishes that the finances of the League should be controlled by his men. All this to my mind amounts to capturing the League and then killing it. Knowing the opinion of the province as I do, I cannot take the responsibility of handing over the League to Sir Sikandar and his friends. The pact has already damaged the prestige of the League in this province; and the tactics of the Unionists may damage it still further. They have not so far signed the creed of the League and I understand do not mean to. The session of the League in Lahore they want in April instead of February. My impression is that they want to gain time for their own Zamindara League to function in the province. Perhaps you know that on his return from Lucknow, Sir Sikandar constituted a Zamindara League whose branches are now being made in the province. In these circumstances, please let me know what we should do."

This is the unimpeachable evidence of the revered sage and poet-philosopher of Muslim India regarding the intentions and doings of Sir Sikandar and his Unionist followers. He did nothing to encourage the growth of the Muslim League organisation in the Punjab. As long as he lived he tried to sail in two boats. He often spoke in two voices, saying one thing on the League platform and another inside his own province. His public pronouncements often conveyed the impression that his views were at variance with the declared policies of the Muslim League; for instance, the Muslim League's attitude vis-a-vis the British Government's war effort, the Ottawa Agreement and, above all, the Lahore Resolution of the Muslim League of 1940

itself. In the course of a rambling speech delivered by him in the Punjab Legislative Assembly on the 11th of March, 1941, Sir Sikandar dissociated himself from the basic principle of separate, sovereign states envisaged in the Lahore Resolution by remarking: "It has been said that I am the author of the Lahore Resolution. I have no hesitation in admitting that I was responsible for drafting the original resolution. But let me make it clear that the resolution which I drafted was radically amended by the Working Committee and there is a wide divergence in the resolution I drafted and the one that was finally passed. The main difference between the two resolutions is that the latter part of my resolution which related to the Centre and co-ordination of the activities of the various units was eliminated. It is, therefore, a travesty of fact to describe the League resolution, as it was finally passed, as my resolution".²

It must be remembered that Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan was present at the meeting of the Working Committee at which the resolution was finalised. He was also present at the meeting of the Subjects Committee which approved the resolution. He also attended the open session at which the resolution was finally passed. Nowhere did he raise any objection nor did he attempt to get the resolution amended at any subsequent meeting of the League Council or at a general session of the League. To say the least, therefore, it was against all principles of political rectitude that he repudiated and dissociated himself from the Lahore Resolution on the floor of the Punjab Legislative Assembly while remaining a member of the League and its Working Committee. Sir Sikandar's speech not only tended to create confusion in Muslim minds but also gave comfort to the Congress and other opponents of Muslim freedom. No wonder it has been reproduced with appreciative remarks in extenso by Mr. V. P. Menon in his book "The Transfer of Power in India".

The Qaid gave a long rope to Sir Sikandar. The patience he showed paid dividends. Muslim public opinion in the Punjab swung strongly in favour of the Muslim League and, in spite of the indifference on the part of Sir Sikandar and his associates, the Muslim League began to gain strength in the province. By November 1942, the Punjab Muslim League had developed to such an extent that it was able to hold a Provincial Conference at Lyallpur on November 18 which was attended and addressed by Qaid-e-Azam himself. Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan, too, noting the trend of public opinion,

² V.P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.



At Jullundar on his way to Muslim Students' Federation meeting—November, 1942 (Mian Bashir Ahmad by his side and I in the foreground)

"I am an old man. God has given me enough to live comfortably at this age. Why should I turn my blood into water, run about and take so much trouble? Not for the capitalists but for you, the poor people."

Qaid-e-Azam: Talk to Muslim League workers at the writer's home Calcutta, March 1, 1946.

HAQ AND SIKANDAR

showed up at the Conference and made a speech. Before this, he had been careful to avoid League meetings inside his province.

During Sir Stafford Cripps' Mission, behind the League President's back, he was making things difficult and yet, in the larger interests of the Muslims of the sub-continent, Mr. Jinnah did not consider it wise to haul him up, for if he did the crack which existed between the genuine and bogus Muslim Leaguers would have been exposed and, as a result, the bargaining power of the League would have been considerably affected thereby hurting the cause of 100 million Muslims. It was a critical time for us all. Had we exhibited a crack in our front while the Cripps' Mission was still in India, the Muslim case would have suffered beyond repair.

It is true Sir Sikandar did not openly flout any express decision of the Muslim League, for he knew the consequences. On the question of membership of the Defence Council nominated by the Viceroy in July 1941, he bowed to the decision of the Muslim League and resigned from the Council. There was no alternative before him, for the Viceroy's message to the Qaid-e-Azam, conveyed through the Governor of Bombay, had made it clear that the Muslim Provincial Premiers had been included in the Defence Council as representatives of 'the great Muslim community' and this position he could not accept without the permission of the League. The other alternative of leaving the League and adhering to the Defence Council would have earned him the strongest disapproval and condemnation of the entire Muslim nation, which even for him was too dreadful a prospect.

I remember telling Mr. Jinnah at the time that if I were in his shoes, I would remove Sikandar Hayat Khan from the League High Command and tell the Muslims of the sub-continent why I resorted to this step. I equally remember his reply. He said, "No. We must not be emotional. Such action may do our people harm at this delicate time. We must wait, but he will not be where he is today in the Muslim League when the next Working Committee's membership is announced". Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's name was dropped from the Working Committee announced by the Qaid-e-Azam in July 1942. In his place was nominated Mian Bashir Ahmad of Lahore who throughout proved a loyal and helpful colleague.

The Qaid one day, when we were alone in his green study at 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, awaiting call for luncheon, told me, "Fazlul Haq and Sikandar Hayat are a menace not only to the Muslim League but to the Muslim nation. Each time the dish is cooked and

is about to be served to the Muslim nation, they knock it down in the mud and ruin much labour and planning which has gone into its preparation”.

Sir Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan's successor, was a true disciple of his predecessor, though he lacked the finesse of the latter. Sir Khizr Hayat and some of his staunch lieutenants acted strictly in accordance with the pattern set by Sir Sikandar. The Tiwana group was troublesome to the rest of the Muslims of India at the time of the Simla Conference of 1945 and the British Cabinet Mission's visit to the sub-continent in 1946. They took the cue from the Chhoturams, the Sardarjees and the Baniyas, and above all from the British Governor of the Viceroy. But in spite of all the strength which he had at his back, the onrush of the united Muslim force was too much for Khizr Hayat to face and he had to go under.

Malik Khizr Hayat Khan on succeeding Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan as Premier of the Punjab gave an undertaking at a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council at Delhi in March 1943 that he would reorganise the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly and put fresh life into it. He was taken at his word and more than a year was given to him to make good his promise. But nothing happened and it was brought to Qaid-e-Azam's notice that the Muslim League was being exploited as a mere appendage of the Unionist Party and Muslim interests were being ignored. He went to the Punjab in March 1944 and had prolonged discussions with Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, other Muslim League leaders and the Sikh and Hindu Ministers of the Unionist Cabinet. The Qaid explained that the name Jinnah-Sikandar Pact was a misnomer, for it was only a document drawn up by Sir Sikandar Hayat who wanted to give it the fullest publicity so that the world might know that the Punjab was behind the Muslim League. He said: "The question that has been brought to my notice is whether the members of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly owe their allegiance to the defunct Unionist Party's creed, policy and programme and can remain in the Muslim League Party. There cannot be any divided loyalty". He stated further: "The so-called Pact clearly lays down that we may continue the present coalition or enter into any other coalition before or after the election. The present coalition is merely at will and formed for specific purposes. The question of the label or the name of the party, namely the Unionist Party, arises because it is calculated to mislead the public and has been, in fact, utilised and it is openly claimed because of its label that the members of the Muslim League

Party are Unionists first and Muslim Leaguers next and are bound by the creed, policy and programme of the so-called Unionist Party. It follows that if this position is accepted the Muslim League Party in the Assembly is a mere creature of the Unionists; and further it is insisted that, if we take steps to clarify this matter and put our Muslim League Party in the Assembly on a clean basis, then Sir Chhoturam would have nothing to do with the Muslim League Party at all, and we are threatened that it must lead to the dissolution and break of the present coalition."³

Qaid-e-Azam then called upon Malik Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana to define his attitude and that of his Cabinet colleagues to the following three proposals: (1) that every member of the Muslim League Party in the Punjab Assembly should declare that he owes his allegiance solely to the Muslim League Party in the Assembly and not to the Unionist Party or any other Party; (2) that the present label of the coalition should be dropped, namely the "Unionist Party"; and (3) that the name of the proposed coalition should be the Muslim League Coalition Party. For days on end, Malik Khizr Hayat kept on avoiding to give a clear and categorical answer to the proposals placed before him. Finally, on April 27, 1944, the Qaid-e-Azam wrote two letters to Khizr Hayat Khan asking him to give his promised reply with regard to the proposals. The second letter was sent through the Nawab of Mamdot and Mian Mumtaz Daultana but Khizr Hayat Khan Tiwana refused even to acknowledge receipt, to say nothing of replying. The course adopted by Khizr Hayat Khan was, in Qaid-e-Azam's words, "unprecedented and unheard of in the history of any political party in any country". He asserted that it was Khizr's duty as a member of the League to come to this session (Punjab Muslim League Conference at Sialkot) and explain his position. Khizr Hayat was thus guilty of gross breach of party discipline, and the Committee of Action, after giving him due opportunity to defend himself, expelled him from the Muslim League.

Khizr Hayat acted merely as a protege of the British and a stooge of the Hindus and Sikhs and turned his back on his own nation, for which he had to pay dearly. His expulsion from the Muslim League signalled a great upsurge of national consciousness among the Muslims which in less than three years swept away the Unionists together with their British, Hindu and Sikh patrons. The Qaid's bold and far-sighted leadership proved more than a match for British might

³ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmed: *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*.

and Hindu machinations. After Khizr Hayat's exit from the Muslim League the position became clear and political forces crystallised in the Punjab. The Muslim League went from strength to strength and in March 1947 it was able to rid the province altogether of the Unionist incubus.

Tiwana's party faced and challenged the Muslim League and did its utmost to break the strength and spirit of the Muslim League leadership in the province. League stalwarts like the Nawab of Mamdot, Malik Firoz Khan Noon, Mian Bashir Ahmed, Begum Shah Nawaz, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Mian Iftikharuddin, Sardar Shaukat Hayat and others gave them battle until the League achieved success and brought down Sir Khizr Hayat Tiwana and his supporters. His Hindu and Sikh accomplices fled the country and his Muslim supporters had to go into political wilderness within the country itself. For this disloyalty to the Muslims, the Qaid did not forgive Tiwana, although many may have forgotten and forgiven after humbling their adversary. To the Qaid, it was not opposition to him which hurt so much as opposition to the will and interest of the Muslim nation.

VI

CRIPPS MISSION AND AFTER

THE Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, Mr. Winston Churchill, declared in Parliament that in fulfilment of his promise in Parliament in August, 1940, he was sending Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the ablest men in Britain, to India to work out a formula acceptable to the British, the Hindus and the Muslims.

Sir Stafford arrived on March 23, 1942, and, without loss of time, issued a Declaration on behalf of His Majesty's Government.

In his very first interview with Mr. Jinnah, Sir Stafford Cripps declared:

"I have changed my opinion in the last eighteen months, particularly during the last six months. I do not hold my old views. The Cabinet of Britain too wholly hold my view. We appreciate the Muslim case. I give you the assurance that I recognise that so far as the Mussalmans are concerned, I recognise no body and no party among them other than the League and its President. Many persons and organisations have pressed me to recognise them and I have point-blank refused".

It is obvious that, if Sir Stafford Cripps had not made the above statement to Mr. Jinnah, the Muslim League's negotiations with him could not have proceeded, for it was our fundamental claim that the Muslim League was the sole and authoritative political body of the Muslims of India.

The gist of this Declaration boiled down to: (a) the setting up of a National Government at the Centre and (b) the creation and establishment of machinery to undertake the responsibility of framing a constitution for the proposed Indian Union with the proviso that in the event a province did not accept the framed constitution, it would enjoy the right to stand out and such a province or provinces, as the case may be, would have the right to form its own or their own separate Union.

The Mission of Sir Stafford ran into difficulties. Notwithstanding his great efforts to get the Congress and the League to accept the proposals he had brought from London in his brief case, he failed. During April, there were, as usual, exchanges of correspondence and visits between Sir Stafford and the leaders of the two main political parties of India. But they were of no avail. The Muslim League Working Committee presided over by Mr. Jinnah and, under his able guidance, gave its reasons without ambiguity for the rejection of the proposals.

The Resolution of the Working Committee stated as under:

"....The Muslims cannot be satisfied by such a Declaration on a vital question affecting their future destiny, and demand a clear and precise pronouncement on the subject. Any attempt to solve the future problem of India by the process of evading the real issue is to court disaster.

In the draft proposals no procedure has been laid down as to how the verdict of the Province is to be obtained in favour of or against accession to the one Union, but in the letter dated April 2nd from the Secretary of Sir Stafford Cripps addressed to the President of the All-India Muslim League, it is stated that a 'Province should reach the decision whether or not to stand out of the Union by a vote in the Legislative Assembly on a resolution to stand in. If the majority for accession to the Union is less than 60 per cent the minority will have the right to demand a plebiscite of the adult male population.' In this connexion it must be emphasised that in the Provinces where the Muslims are in a majority, as in the case of the major Provinces of Bengal and Punjab, they are in a minority in the Legislative Assembly, and in the Assemblies of Sind and the North-West Frontier Province the total number (namely 60 and 50 respectively) is so small and the weightage given to the non-Muslims so heavy that it can be easily manipulated, and a decision under such circumstances cannot be true criterion of ascertaining the real opinion of the Muslims of those Provinces.

As regards the suggested plebiscite in the Provinces in which the Muslims are in a minority, in the event of the requisite majority not being available in the Legislative Assembly, the procedure laid down is that reference shall be made to the whole adult population of the Provinces and not to the Muslims alone, which is to deny them the inherent right to self-determination.

With regard to the Indian States, it is the considered opinion of the Committee that it is a matter for them to decide whether to join or not to join or form a Union.

With regard to the treaties to be negotiated between the Crown and the Indian Union or Unions, the proposals do not indicate as to what would happen in case of disagreement in the terms between the contracting parties; nor is there any provision made as to what would be the procedure when

there is a difference of opinion in negotiating a revision of treaty arrangements with the Indian States in the new situation.

With regard to the interim arrangement there is no definite proposal except the bare statement that His Majesty's Government desire and invite the effective and immediate participation of the leaders of the principal sections of the Indian people in the counsels of their country, of the Commonwealth and of the United Nations. The Committee are therefore unable to express their opinion until a complete picture is available. Another reason why the Committee are unable to express their opinion on the interim arrangements for participation in the counsels of the country is Sir Stafford Cripps has made it clear that the scheme goes through as a whole or is rejected as a whole, and that it would not be possible to retain only the part relating to the immediate arrangements at the Centre and discard the rest of the draft scheme; and as the Committee has come to the conclusion that the proposals for the future are unacceptable, it will serve no useful purpose to deal further with the question of the immediate arrangements."

The Congress for its own reasons rejected the proposal on April 11, 1942, and Sir Stafford Cripps who had arrived in India full of confidence and hope returned empty-handed. Thinking that Sir Stafford Cripps, being a leader of the British Labour Party known for his pro-Congress sympathies, would go to any extent to accommodate their wishes, they went on higgling and bargaining over the issue of formation of a provisional government. The Congress thought that the British were in a tight corner owing to the war situation and so they could be forced to concede to the Congress demand not only for the complete Indianisation of the Viceroy's Executive Council but also its being made responsible to the Central Assembly dominated by a 75% Hindu majority which would have meant the establishment of Hindu Raj under the guise of interim arrangements. It would also have involved a radical amendment of the existing constitution to the advantage of the Hindu majority and the serious detriment of Muslim interests. The Congress overplayed their hand and their demand was rejected. Even Sir Stafford Cripps, on leaving India after his unsuccessful Mission, had to remark, "The Congress wanted all or nothing and they have got nothing."

The real mind of the Hindu leaders was revealed by Mr. Gandhi who called the Cripps proposal 'a post-dated cheque on a crashing bank'. This clearly meant that the Congress considered a Japanese victory over the British to be imminent; hence they were not keen to accept the British offer for it involved responsibility to prosecute the war effort. They thought that their dream of Hindu Raj stood better chances of realisation when the British had been pushed out of India by the Japanese. It was this calculation which led them to adopt the 'Quit India' resolution in August, 1942. In the scheme

QAID-E-AZAM
 of things that the Congress had in mind, there was no place for the Muslims except that of a vassalised minority.

Sir Stafford Cripps returned to England a wise, and, according to some, a happy man. The British did not really wish to share power with the Indians at that critical juncture and therefore the failure of his Mission must have come to them as a relief. In the meantime, the British had assessed the strength of the Congress and were prepared for a showdown should the Congress resort to an agitation, which they did four months later. In those difficult days, Mohammed Ali Jinnah's qualities of leadership were put to a severe test—but he came out successful as usual and this marked the beginning of the power of the League and ascendancy of the Qaid as we shall see. For the first time also the "right of a province not to accede" to the Indian Union was mentioned in an official document from the British Government. This meant after all that the unity of India was not sacrosanct; undoubtedly, this marked a great advance in the thinking of Whitehall. The foundations of division were thus laid—though vaguely.

By his exemplary record of service as President of the All-India Muslim League the Qaid-e-Azam had shown that the nation could place implicit trust in him. This feeling became universal among the Muslims. We were passing through critical times owing to the War and constant changes in the political situation which called for immediate action by the President. At the Allahabad Session of the Muslim League in April 1942, the following resolution, moved by me and supported by my friend Maulana Jamal Mian, was unanimously adopted:

"Resolved that the President be authorised till the next session to take every step or action as he may consider necessary in furtherance of, and relating to the objects of the Muslim League, provided that they are consistent with the principles, policy and goal of the League or any resolution expressly passed by the sessions of the All-India Muslim League."

I have mentioned that our great leader was gifted with an uncanny foresight and power of anticipation. It was this blessing which helped him not only in his legal profession but also when he became the sole leader of the Muslims of India. An interesting event will illustrate this point.

We assembled in Bombay in August, 1942, to consider the situation which had arisen out of the sudden arrest and incarceration of Mr. Gandhi and the members of the Indian National Congress

Working Committee, following their decision to launch the 'Quit India' movement. The arrests were made a few days before the meeting of the Working Committee of the Muslim League. Soon after the arrests, propaganda was set afoot by the highest Congress and Hindu quarters that this was an opportune moment for the Muslim League to join hands with the Congress to gain independence for the peoples of the sub-continent.

In an atmosphere of assurance by the prominent Congressites and Hindus who were out of jail, that the Indian Congress meant to be fair and honest with the Muslims and to give them the type of independence which they were seeking, the Muslim League Working Committee met. Some prominent members held the firm view that this was the opportunity for us to join hands with the Congress, that is if we wanted to wrench freedom from the unwilling hands of the British. I was among them.

I reached Bombay on the eve of the Working Committee meeting scheduled for August 16, 1942, and remember my interview with the Qaid-e-Azam in which two of my close friends, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and Jamal Mian, the former being my colleague on the Working Committee as well, participated. We expressed our views freely and frankly that in view of the atmosphere prevailing in the country, we should not let slip the opportunity for gaining freedom from the British both for Hindus and Muslims.

It did not take long for us to realise that Mr. Jinnah did not agree with our view and in his usual cool and dispassionate fashion was sponsoring the idea that the interests of the Muslim nation called for a policy of avoiding both the British and the Congress traps. He was in favour of a cautious and neutral position of not flirting with either and at the same time utilising the opportunity to infuse drive and teeth into the Muslim League organisation which was still rather weak on its legs.

I remember the scene at the meeting of the Working Committee which was held the next evening in the spacious verandah of Qaid-e-Azam's beautiful residence on Mount Pleasant Road, Malabar Hill, facing the sea. Before a prominent member from Bengal had finished his speech in support of our views, he collapsed in his seat a convert to Mr. Jinnah's reasoning which was passed on to him in the form of interruptions from the chair. Some other gentlemen followed suit, a few with speeches and others in solemn silence. A prominent

member, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman¹, from who shared our view before the commencement of the session, was within an hour or so totally converted to Qaid's viewpoint and rushed to the verandah upstairs to draft a resolution which put forward the opinion, contrary to his earlier one, that the Muslim League should not join the battle against the British at this stage but get busy in organising itself and getting stronger. Before the resolution was put to vote, there remained three who agreed to abstain but on the clear understanding with Mr. Jinnah that if things did not work out within three months as the President had forecast, they would, with much pain and regret, have to leave the Committee. They were Nawab Ismail Khan, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and I. One member, G. M. Syed of Sind, refused to abstain when the resolution was put to vote. He cast his vote against the resolution. No amount of persuasion shook him from his resolve.*

The Working Committee dispersed but the Raja and I delayed our departure from Bombay for two days. During this period, we met Mr. Jinnah often and discussed the resolution threadbare without being convinced that the step taken by the Working Committee on his advice was the right one; but he persisted in his effort to convince us. He repeatedly told us as he had told Nawab Ismail Khan: "Give me three months time, and if within that time I do not prove that I am right I shall myself resign from the Presidentship of the Muslim League".

It was on the first Sunday morning after the termination of the Working Committee meeting that the Raja and I called to say goodbye. Qaid-e-Azam was in his study. He produced two articles, one written by Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan* and the other a statement by Pandit Nehru which appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the same day—both written a few days before the arrest of the Congress Working Committee.² These two articles proved that all the inspired talk which filled the air with the blessings of the Congress leaders outside prison and influential big Hindu businessmen had no meaning and was a clever trap to throw the Muslim League off balance and to involve it in trouble similar to the Congress's, which, due to the arrest and

¹ I am adding a note at the end of this chapter to show that this was not the only occasion when Chaudhri Saheb changed his mind and what was his attitude towards Qaid-e-Azam.

² I regret I am unable to quote the actual words of Mr. Gandhi's and Pandit Nehru's statements as I have failed, in spite of my best effort, to secure copies of the *Harijan* for the week ending August 22, and of the *Bombay Chronicle* dated August 23, 1942.

*See Note on Page 64

member, Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman¹, from the United Provinces, who shared our view before the commencement of the session, was within an hour or so totally converted to Qaid's viewpoint and rushed to the verandah upstairs to draft a resolution which put forward the opinion, contrary to his earlier one, that the Muslim League should not join the battle against the British at this stage but get busy in organising itself and getting stronger. Before the resolution was put to vote, there remained three who agreed to abstain but on the clear understanding with Mr. Jinnah that if things did not work out within three months as the President had forecast, they would, with much pain and regret, have to leave the Committee. They were Nawab Ismail Khan, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and I. One member, G. M. Syed of Sind, refused to abstain when the resolution was put to vote. He cast his vote against the resolution. No amount of persuasion shook him from his resolve.*

The Working Committee dispersed but the Raja and I delayed our departure from Bombay for two days. During this period, we met Mr. Jinnah often and discussed the resolution threadbare without being convinced that the step taken by the Working Committee on his advice was the right one; but he persisted in his effort to convince us. He repeatedly told us as he had told Nawab Ismail Khan: "Give me three months time, and if within that time I do not prove that I am right I shall myself resign from the Presidentship of the Muslim League".

It was on the first Sunday morning after the termination of the Working Committee meeting that the Raja and I called to say goodbye. Qaid-e-Azam was in his study. He produced two articles, one written by Mr. Gandhi in the *Harijan* and the other a statement by Pandit Nehru which appeared in the *Bombay Chronicle* of the same day—both written a few days before the arrest of the Congress Working Committee.² These two articles proved that all the inspired talk which filled the air with the blessings of the Congress leaders outside prison and influential big Hindu businessmen had no meaning and was a clever trap to throw the Muslim League off balance and to involve it in trouble similar to the Congress's, which, due to the arrest and

¹ I am adding a note at the end of this chapter to show that this was not the only occasion when Chaudhri Saheb changed his mind and what was his attitude towards Qaid-e-Azam.

² I regret I am unable to quote the actual words of Mr. Gandhi's and Pandit Nehru's statements as I have failed, in spite of my best effort, to secure copies of the *Harijan* for the week ending August 22, and of the *Bombay Chronicle* dated August 23, 1942.

*See Note on Page 64



With members of the Working Committee at Bombay—August, 1942

By courtesy of Mohitarama Fatima Jinnah

✓
“We are a nation with our own distinctive culture and civilisation, language and literature, art and architecture, names and nomenclature, sense of value and proportion, legal laws and moral codes, customs and calendar, history and traditions, aptitudes and ambitions, in short, we have our own distinctive outlook on life and of life. By all canons of international law we are a nation”.

Qaid-e-Azam: Interview to representative of Associated Press of America, July 1, 1942.

imprisonment of its top leaders, had become a ship that had lost its rudder and was caught in a storm in mid-ocean.

The articles showed clearly that the Hindu or Congress attitude vis-a-vis the Muslims had not undergone any change and Muslims, in their thinking, were to remain a mere minority and enjoy such rights as would be conceded to minorities in an all-India "democracy". All that which was pumped into our ears by the second string of the Congress, which was not jailed, was false. Furthermore, they were not the persons who could actually deliver the goods for they lacked the power to do so.

This interview converted us to the view of our great leader. We left satisfied and assured him that, on our return to our respective provinces, we would spare no effort to prove to those who thought like us when we arrived to attend the meeting of the Working Committee, that they were wrong as we were and that the decision of the Muslim League Working Committee, which, in fact, in this case for sure, was the decision of the Qaid-e-Azam, was the right one.

It did not take long to get enough proof from happenings around us that the decision taken under the sole guidance of our leader was the correct one. Had he not pleaded with the Working Committee to ignore the crafty approaches of the Congress and other Hindu leaders and utilise the opportunity afforded to organise and build the Muslim League, the Muslim nation would have suffered a setback from which it would not have recovered in time to demand and obtain its freedom. The decision kept the High Command and other Muslim League leaders out of jail and enabled the Party to gain the strength which it did between then and 1946 and to emerge as the sole unquestioned and authoritative representative political party of the Muslim nation of the sub-continent.

It is a well-known fact that with the incarceration of the leaders of Congress, the Party itself suffered a severe setback and was demoralised to such an extent that its activities were badly affected. That happened to an old, active, well-organised and powerful organisation. One can well imagine our fate had we joined hands with the Congress and were given the same treatment by the rulers of India as was accorded to it.

NOTE I

When one reads Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman's "Pathway to Pakistan", the 'know nothing' in our land and abroad is led to the conclusion that Mr. Khaliquzzaman was

the sole thinker drafter of statements and resolutions and negotiator of the Muslim League. More than that, his writing seeks to convey the impression that it was he and not Mohammed Ali Jinnah who was responsible for the practical "evolution" of Pakistan.

Having been in the same political field as Mr. Khaliquzzaman since 1937 and having been his colleague on the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League since 1941, I would be doing grave injustice to the memory of my hero, Mohammed Ali Jinnah, if I did not categorically state that Mr. Khaliquzzaman has arrogated to himself a role from which he was miles away. There should be no mistake about this.

Without fear of contradiction, I can state, and my colleagues on the Working Committee who are still alive will confirm, that the most stable and persistent person who had a clear vision was Mr. Jinnah. Whilst his views were clear cut and wise, Mr. Khaliquzzaman in a large number of cases was inclined to sail in two boats at the same time. Who can deny that almost always the Qaid-e-Azam's views prevailed in the Working Committee and in Council meetings, not because they came from him but because they were wise and clear. Mr. Khaliquzzaman was at the most one of the larger cogs but certainly not the power plant in the machinery of the Muslim League. While he talked at every meeting, whether it was the Working Committee, Council or public and while he was one of the drafters of resolutions in accordance with the directive given, he enjoyed no special privileges. He did not enjoy the confidence of the Qaid-e-Azam which Nawab Ismail Khan of Meerut and the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad did and both these gentlemen hailed from the same province as Chaudhri Sahab. The United Provinces of India at the time were unquestionably the spring from which a large number of the Muslim able political leaders and workers flowed into the mainstream of the political life of Muslim India. I often heard the Qaid-e-Azam praise Nawab Ismail Khan for his moral integrity, although he said that the Nawab was obstinate and difficult at times and that if he erred in his view, he did so genuinely. But, in all my years of reasonably close association with the Qaid, I never heard one such remark passed about the author of "Pathway to Pakistan".

Mr. Khaliquzzaman has been saying that he never called Mohammed Ali Jinnah, Qaid-e-Azam. I must, to keep the record straight, give him the benefit of doubt by accepting that due to his advancing years his memory no longer serves him as it did when he was younger. Unless millions, and I was one of them, were stone deaf, they must have heard him address with pride our great leader as Qaid-e-Azam.

I give below the text of two letters written by Mr. Khaliquzzaman to Qaid-e-Azam:

L U C K N O W :

Dated 23rd July 1945.

Dear Qaid-e-Azam,

The way in which the Muslim public has re-acted to the policy adopted by you and under

your leadership by the Working Committee is truly marvellous. On my return we held a public meeting, which was attended by thousands of Muslims of all shades of opinion. The enthusiasm with which the Muslim attitude at the Simla Conference was acclaimed was an eye opener not only to me but to Sir Nazim Uddin also, who addressed the meeting during his stay for a couple of day in Lucknow. You have once again saved the community from a serious pit-fall and steered the ship of Muslim politics ^{clear} through rough and stormy weather to a safe anchorage. Your grim determination and over powering sagacity alone saved the situation. When I recall our doubtful attitude and your unfaltering resolve, the contrast becomes so palpably clear that one has to admire your capacity for leadership.

I met His Excellency the Governor of U.P. on the 21st and impressed upon him the necessity of holding elections to Central and Provincial Legislatures at an early date. He has after a long discussion again asked me to see him for further discussion before 31st July 1945 when he is to leave for the Governor's Conference. I shall let you know the result of my talk later on.

With best regards to self and Miss Jinnah.

Yours sincerely,
Khaliq-ur-Rahman

My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

For some time past I had been thinking of starting an Urdu daily to serve my Province. I have succeeded in making all necessary arrangements and I hope to bring out the first issue about 15th October, 1945. The policy will be strictly in accord with the Muslim League. I shall be obliged if you will kindly send a message for the paper which will be very valuable.

Yours sincerely,
KHALIQUZZAMAN.

It pains me to express myself so but in the public interest, incorrect statements should not be left unchallenged, as, with the passage of time, the spurious may pass off as the genuine and it would be a disservice to history and to posterity.

There are other matters in his book on which any of his colleagues of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee could join issue with him. I shall deal with one of his statements to establish this point.

Writing about the Lahore Resolution of 1940 in which the Muslim League, for the first time, demanded a separate homeland, he avers that he did not know who was responsible, in his absence, for including the "fatal" words "subject to territorial adjustments" which inclusion was, seven years later, responsible for the partition of Bengal and Punjab. First, it is morally improper for one to criticise a decision of his colleagues and yet remain member of the Working Committee. It is a poor excuse to say that he was not present at the drafting stage and that, had he been present, he would not have permitted the inclusion of these words in the Resolution. If he felt strongly about it, why did he second the Resolution, proposed by Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq, in a strongly worded and emotional speech at the open session and why did he not seek the deletion of these words when the Resolution was being debated in the Subjects Committee in his presence? Again, if he thought that the words spelt grave danger to the Muslims of India, why did he not avail himself of the earliest opportunity to have his viewpoint accepted and the Resolution accordingly amended? Did he realise that he would not succeed, for going against the Qaid and his other colleagues would have been like attempting to break a steel gate with one's head?

I do not remember a single occasion when Chaudhri Saheb raised this point even in the secret meetings of the Working Committee, leave alone the open sessions of the Council or annual meetings of delegates. This shows that he was, if he is right, working against his convictions. If not, the matter can only be treated as an after-thought.

For further comments on other assertions made by Chaudhri Khaliquzzaman in his book *Pathway to Pakistan*, the reader is referred to Appendix 'E'.

NOTE II

Recently I met my old working Committee colleague G.M. Syed who told me something I did not know. He said that after he had cast his dissenting vote, he was persuaded by Abdul Matin Choudhury and Aurangzeb Khan, two of our colleagues, to go to the Qaid and withdraw his vote. He told our Leader, "Sir, I still hold the same view but if you think that my action will create a misunderstanding outside regarding amity in the working committee, I authorise you to declare that the Resolution was passed without dissent." The Qaid accepted the withdrawal with the words "Thank you. You shall realise in three months that I am right and you are wrong."

LET THERE BE "DAWN"

AS the Muslim League movement gained momentum, the need for a national daily newspaper in English was increasingly felt. The Hindu press had not left any gun in its armoury unfired at the Muslims. It was the Qaid's burning desire that we the Muslims in India should have at least one first class English daily to begin with. *Dawn* which was a Muslim League weekly in English was of poor quality and it no longer served the purpose. In these circumstances, *Dawn* was converted into a daily and published for the first time in the year 1942. *Morning News* at Calcutta, owned and directed by Messrs. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and Khwaja Nooruddin, had a limited circulation in the province. The *Star of India*, directed and controlled by me, was an evening paper. It was also published at Calcutta and enjoyed a limited circulation. This was the condition of Muslims in the sub-continent until only five years prior to Partition. We had, of course, some dailies in Urdu and Bengali such as *Anjam* (Delhi), *Asre Jadid* (Calcutta), *Azad Bengali* (Calcutta), *Zamindar* and *Ehsan* (Lahore), *Manshoor* (Delhi) and *Khilafat* (Bombay). The English press was preponderatingly owned by Hindus and only three or four papers were either wholly owned or directed and edited by Britishers. Muslim news and views on important issues often went unrepresented or inadequately projected and insufficiently explained in English. Thus, not only wealth but the power of the press was largely concentrated in Hindu hands. With this heavy handicap one can readily appreciate the difficult, if not impossible, task Mr. Jinnah had in wresting freedom from the unwilling hands of the British and the Hindus.

For the purpose of record, I shall reproduce excerpts and photostats of the correspondence between my revered chief and myself on the subject of starting an English daily at New Delhi, the seat of the Government of India. The material may be of interest to later generations.

I wrote to Mr. Jinnah on September 6, 1941:

"....I spoke to you about your weekly, the *Dawn*. I was unable to convince you fully that a journal or newspaper in order to be a success and in order to command influence must be *first class*. Half measures, I have found in my little experience, do not pay. Of course, since my departure you must have given this matter further consideration and I shall be interested to learn what you have finally decided."

The *Star of India*, which regularly ran at a loss for some years and had nothing but debts to pay when I took over, went through bad days for a considerable time owing to the poor advertising patronage it received. I was able to arrange financial assistance from Ispahanis and Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood on the assurance that I would, if given reasonable time, rid the newspaper of all its headaches and financial losses. As the two named above were anxious to end their responsibility after a while, I appealed to Mr. Jinnah to intervene. He did so effectively. Aid was not cut off. The *Star of India* was saved. Soon thereafter, the *Star's* business began to prosper to such an extent that loans taken by me were fully repaid and even the loans which were taken years before I took over the paper were also liquidated. Pothan Joseph was my Editor at the time. He was a master of English. His knowledge of old and new Testaments was profound and there were few among the laymen who could equal it in English. He was a Syrian Christian and hailed from Malabar. His weakness was the bottle. When he was reasonably "canned", he produced masterpieces. He wrote with the fire of a fanatical Muslim supporting the cause of the Muslim nation.

I was asked by Mr. Jinnah to send Joseph to Delhi. I complied. After Mr. Jinnah had interviewed him, he wrote to me as under:

10, Aurangzeb Road,
New Delhi

13th May, 1942

My dear Hassan:

You will observe that I had to stay on in Delhi. Now I am definitely leaving on the 19th. I postponed my departure as I wanted to meet Mr. Joseph and finally he turned up on the 12th, as he had difficulty in getting accommodation from Madras owing to the difficulties in communications and he was also under the impression that I had left for Bombay.

He arrived on the 12th and although I am sorry you could not come we discussed the various pros and cons of starting a daily as soon as possible in Delhi.

The first question was whether we should start the *Dawn* as a daily, and the second question was whether it will not be advisable to have the *Star of India* in Delhi. Taking all the circumstances into consideration, we were inclined to be of the opinion that the *Star of India* should be started in Delhi.

The reasons are: (1) that it is already a Joint Stock Company, a Muslim Press Company, and the Directors can adopt such steps as they may think proper, (2) that the conditions in Calcutta are such that the *Star* may have to seek a home elsewhere or completely close down, which will be most unfortunate. I understand that other newspapers and even commercial firms are living in dread and have made arrangements to shift elsewhere in case of necessity, (3) that in view of the conditions prevailing in Calcutta your circulation will go down. There are several other reasons details of which I need not discuss. We, therefore, thought that the definite proposal that we can suggest is as follows:

That the *Star of India* should be transferred to Delhi before it is forced to close down in Calcutta without any home elsewhere. If that is done, we had rough calculations before us and I think that the probable loss per year can be covered by issuing debentures. But the exact amount of the issue of debentures can only be determined after we know what is the present position of the *Star* with regard to the income and expenditure.

The main items of the expenditure will be (1) the editorial and managerial staff, (2) office rent including telephone etc., (3) the A.P. and Reuter service and (4) the printing charges and cost of paper. On the other hand the income and particularly the advertisement items which are most important have to be considered.

On a rough calculation we came to the conclusion that there might be a loss, if we have to run the *Star of India* in Delhi, of between three to four thousand per month. That means roughly Rs. 50,000/- a year.

I think it will not be difficult to raise money on issuing the debentures for a lakh of rupees, which will ensure the running of the paper for two years and with luck for more. Of course in your absence and in the absence of Mr. Ahmad¹ it is not possible for us to carry the matter further unless we know the exact income and expenditure of the *Star* as it is run at present; nor can we do anything without your approval. I am leaving on the 19th and if Mr. Ahmad is in Bombay I shall get in touch with him and you please write to him.

The advantage of the *Star* being run in Delhi is not only for the benefit of Bengal but all India. From Delhi the paper will carry the message of the League not only in the capital itself but in Northern India and also in Bengal. Remember it is Delhi that controls Bengal after all in the final analysis. Besides, the *Star* may be stranded in Calcutta, having regard to the dangerous conditions facing us in Bengal.

¹Mr. Ahmad is my elder brother, Mirza Ahmad.

At the present moment there is a very strong feeling among the Musalmans not only of Delhi but of Punjab and the U.P. and I think that if the *Star* is started in Delhi it will spread like a wild fire. You will be surprised to hear that even this weekly, *Dawn* has a circulation of 3,500 all over and there is more demand than we can supply.

With regard to the printing press and all other matters we have examined it and arrangements can be made here to our entire satisfaction and also suitable offices are available connected with the press in a very central locality.

In conclusion, therefore, it comes to this that if you agree all that we have to consider is what is the monthly loss that we have to provide for and if we can arrange that, we can go ahead. Of course my suggestion is that we can arrange by issue of debentures and there are people in Delhi who will come forward to buy debentures straight away to the extent of 25 to 35 rupees and similarly in the Punjab and U.P. also many will come forward.

It will therefore not be difficult to raise a lakh of rupees if we put our heads together and of course the *Star* will remain the property of the Company and the management will be under the control and supervision of the present Board of Directors.

I hope I have made myself clear for your information and consideration, as to what was the substance of discussion and how far we were able to boil down the matter. You can have further details from Mr. Joseph as he was present when we discussed the matter along with Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan.

As regards Mr. Woo I wonder what has happened to him but I hope you have informed him that I have postponed my departure. I am leaving for Bombay on the 19th and I shall be glad to see him any day after that date. Please let me know when he is likely to be in Bombay and what are his engagements.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

As the idea of transferring the *Star of India* did not appeal to me and presented difficulties in its implementation, I replied to Mr. Jinnah on May 20, as under:

Dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your letter handed to me by Mr. Pothan Joseph.

My brother, Mirza Ahmad, is still in Bombay and I am sure you have met him by now. His office telephone number is 22625. I shall very much appreciate if you will discuss your proposal with my brother also. The loss should not be Rs. 4,000 a month. I however feel whether we

have a paper in Delhi or not we must keep the *Star of India* going in Calcutta—invasion or no invasion. It may be possible to have an office in Delhi to conduct the daily newspaper there and, as the *Statesman* does, have the common editorials sent out from Delhi, then all that Calcutta would require would be a couple of News Editors and one Sub-Editor to run the *Star*. We have, however, to bear in mind that the quota of newsprint is being reduced more and more with the result that from the 1st of June a one anna newspaper will not be permitted to be of more than 4 pages. So, much less matter will be required for the production of a newspaper from early next month. Enquires have to be made whether the Government will permit the starting of another newspaper just now either independent or the daily edition of an already existing Daily, because if such permission is not granted, or if a quota for newsprint is not given for such a venture then it is absolutely no use thinking of starting it. Of course you must have made the necessary enquiries in Delhi....

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

Apparently my argument did not impress him nor did my suggestion find acceptance. He acknowledged the above letter on May 30, as follows:

My dear Hassan:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th of May. I am sorry for the delay in reply but I had a long talk with Mr. Ahmad in Bombay and he must have told you all about it. I am now awaiting a definite reply from him. I am firmly of opinion that we should not miss the present opportunity at this moment but establish a daily paper and the transfer of the *Star of India* is the only practical proposition. I think if you will take the bull by the horns in the matter it will be jammed in and stand. There is a very strong feeling and you will get immediate support and what is more necessary is to consider that it is undoubtedly essential for our cause. We should not miss this golden opportunity. However, I cannot say anything more....

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

I again wrote to him on the subject of a Muslim League daily and asked him to decide as we needed effective machinery, however small, to place our point of view before the English-reading public.

I was happy to receive his reply on June 15 which read as under because things were at long last beginning to take shape:

My dear Hassan:

I am in receipt of your letter of the 10th of June. As far as I can judge the two questions that we have to consider are: (1) whether the

present Muslim Press and Publications Limited should establish the *Star of India* in Delhi. Mr. Ahmad has pointed out various difficulties. It is for you to consider whether they can be overcome as you know the position best. You have also to consider that if you can overcome the difficulties whether you will transfer the *Star of India* to Delhi and run it as a Daily and also continue to run in Calcutta as an evening paper. (2) Whether we should not start a new daily paper in Delhi by means of an entirely new concern. In that case the name of the *Star of India* will not be of much help and we might as well call it the *Dawn* and turn this weekly into a daily. As a weekly the *Dawn* has reached a circulation of 5,000 and is known all over India and even abroad. But the real question is, what is the definite part you are prepared to play and what is the amount of support that you will give?

I have already sent to you all the information that was available to me. Liaquat is going into more details and I have requested him to communicate with you. It will be a feather in your cap if you and Liaquat can establish a daily paper which I need hardly say is most essential at the moment.

I am confident that you are bound to get a very enthusiastic support not only in Delhi but throughout northern India generally and especially in the Punjab and Bihar and U.P. This is really the moment for it. Please, therefore, take it earnestly and put your heads together and persuade Mr. Ahmad and Sir Adamjee and others to come forward and give their best support and all the help they can.

As regards the resolution 2 that you have proposed, well, that all depends upon what you propose to do after the resolution is passed. But anyhow no harm can be done in getting the power in the hands of the Directors to use the name of the *Star of India* for such a newspaper on such terms as the Directors may think proper.

I am returning the copy of your letter addressed to your solicitors and their reply which you were good enough to send me along with your letter.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

To this letter I replied on June 22 as under:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your letter of the 15th instant returning the enclosures.

I had a letter from Liaquat two days ago asking me to give him some particulars regarding the cost of running the *Star of India*. These particulars are being sent to him.

² The resolution referred to above was one which had to be passed to empower the Board of Directors of the *Star of India* to shift the newspaper to Delhi or to permit the use of its name in Delhi when a new Muslim League daily in English was brought into being.

My brother has authorised me to tell you that under whichever name you choose to start a daily in Delhi, we the Ispahanis will back it with pleasure and shall do our bit for a noble cause. We shall guarantee a loss of up to a thousand a month for a year. As for Adamjee, we feel that you should approach him. It will be infinitely better if you do so....

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

After adequate correspondence and discussion, Mr. Jinnah agreed with my point view that it would be best if we converted *Dawn* weekly into a daily and left the *Star of India* to continue its service of the Muslim League from Calcutta.

Having decided to convert *Dawn* into a virile daily, the next task before us was to find a suitable editor, because on this person depended the success or failure of a newspaper. And editors, non-Hindu, were not easy to find, whatever the financial inducement. English journalism was no field for the Muslims to plough because it was covered with boulders of Hindu domination and patronage. Except for Brelvi of the *Bombay Chronicle*, a Hindu-owned daily, and Abdur Rahman Siddiqi of *Morning News* at Calcutta, there was no third first class Muslim in the editor's chair of an English daily in our subcontinent.

In these circumstances, I could only think of the *Star of India's* editor, Pothan Joseph, although his quitting the *Star of India* would have meant that the evening paper would again race downhill to its financial doom. However, the overall interest of the Muslim nation overrode considerations of personal success or failure. I, therefore, decided to make the sacrifice and took the next step to persuade Pothan Joseph to go to Delhi as Editor of *Dawn* daily.

I wrote to Mr. Jinnah on September 19 as under:

Dear Mr. Jinnah:

I have at last got Mr. Pothan Joseph to agree to go to Delhi. He will be leaving Calcutta at the end of next week. Of course, I have not been able to find a substitute for the *Star* so far.

The newsprint position in India is becoming very acute and the problem that will face the newspaper business within the next six months appears to be insurmountable unless the Government of India right away move in the direction of importing sufficient newsprint to cover what they allot periodically to the many newspapers in this country. Our newsprint is still lying in Karachi due to lack of transport facilities. My

QAID-E-AZAM
 stock in the meantime is fast running out. My efforts so far have enabled me to secure a paltry quantity of 50 reams and there are just 200 reams available from one other seller at the absurd price of Rs. 12/10/- per ream....

Yours sincerely,
 HASSAN

He wrote to me on September 21 as below:

My dear Hassan:

I received a wire from Mr. Pothan Joseph yesterday in reply to my wire requesting him to accept the offer made to him by Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan on behalf of the *Dawn* for its Editorship. You will see from his telegram that you have already offered him Rs. 1,250/- and if that is so I stand by it. Please arrange that he should reach Delhi immediately.

I am specially staying in Delhi to see that this matter is put through and all arrangements are made. I was waiting for his reply.

I am enclosing herewith copies of his telegram and my reply to him.

Please wire whether you can arrange to send Mr. Pothan Joseph without delay or else we must make other arrangements. I do not quite understand what he means by saying that I should ask you to "terminate his services whereupon he can start for Delhi".

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
 M.A. JINNAH

I wrote to him about Pothan Joseph on September 26 as under as I wanted Mr. Jinnah to be fully acquainted with his character. Joseph, knowing that he was badly needed to take charge of *Dawn* daily at Delhi, was wasting precious days in trying to drive a hard bargain. He was as cold blooded as a fish. It was not his concern to find the money.

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

Thanks for your letter of the 21st instant.

Joseph has been playing a trying game with me. I have had to utilise every ounce of my patience to get him to agree. I told you I knew him well. He is a first-class journalist but when it comes to money matters, he enjoys an extra-ordinary reputation. Wherever he goes, he gets into a mess and he gives noble principles a rest when it comes to his knocking cash out of a person who, he thinks, has the capacity to pay. He is a charming fellow but in money matters he is a heart breaker.

However, he has promised to leave today. I had to give him Rs. 500/- out of our pocket in cash. Liaquat's instructions to give him Rs. 500/- a/c

Dawn were received this morning. Just as I was on the point of sending him this money, I received a note from him asking me to pay his salary for October 1942 as well. This is too much and I cannot tolerate it. I have written to him as per copy enclosed, and if he does not come to his senses and thinks his services are indispensable to us and that he can make us dance to any tune that he chooses to play, I shall not allow him to do so. If he does not leave for Delhi tonight, I shall, as sure as I am alive, give him notice on Monday morning terminating his services. My mind is made up. He will not be allowed to play the giddy goat any more.

Joseph, by his behaviour, has put me to shame. I do hope you appreciate my predicament and will realise that the delay in getting the *Dawn* started as a daily is not due to me.

Yes, I promised Joseph Rs. 1,250/- because Liaquat told me that I could, if necessary, go to that distance. He got Rs. 1000 from me and Rs. 100/- from the *Dawn* weekly. So it was hardly fair to expect him to accept a lower remuneration than that received by him at present.

If Joseph leaves tonight, and I hope and pray that he does, please make it clear to him that he *shall not contribute* under his own name articles to Indian dailies or weeklies except to the *Star of India*. We did not lay down this stipulation in our contract and he, contrary to fundamentals that govern the conduct of editors of first class newspapers, has been contributing articles under his signature to the *Hindu*, *Orient*, etc., etc. This should not be permitted as it discredits the newspaper that employs him.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

On September 26, he wrote:

My dear Hassan:

I have received your letter of the 19th of September informing me that Mr. Pothan Joseph will be arriving here by the end of this week.

With regard to the other matter—about the newsprint—I have handed over your letter to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan to get in touch with you. I have already written to you enclosing the copies of the telegrams that passed between Mr. Pothan Joseph and me, and I am sure you must have received it by now.

I have also received your telegram informing me that Mr. Joseph will arrive here by the end of this week.

Please make arrangements and see that he starts at once without any further delay.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M. A. JINNAH

The reference to newsprint relates to the sudden shortage of newsprint supply in the office of *Dawn*. The paper faced a closure unless aid in newsprint arrived in time. To avoid such a catastrophe, I railed one wagonload, the price of which I paid to *Star of India*—an amount around Rs. 25,000/- and thus saved a critical situation.

On October 3, I received another interesting letter from Mr. Jinnah which I am reproducing in full:

10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi

3rd October 1942



My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 38th of September and thank you very much for it. I have read Joseph's letter to you and I am returning it as desired by you. Joseph has arrived and taken charge and we hope to bring out the "Dawn Daily" on the Eid day.

I am forwarding your letter to Liaqat regarding your views about the newsprint and I will ask him to write to you with regard to the newsprint which has been placed by you at the disposal of the "Dawn" at Delhi. I am quite confident that we shall help each other as members of the same family. Let me thank you and Mr. Ahmad for all the help that you have given us.

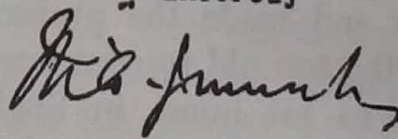
With regard to your guarantee of Joseph's salary I suggest that you should pay us a lump sum of Rs 12,000/- and we can pay Joseph as well as any other member of the staff. My reason for asking you to do this is as follows: that we have been able to launch this venture with the help of a few individuals who have come forward to run the risk of making good the losses. This venture has not been started with the Muslim League Fund the two persons who have largely contributed are yourself and one other public spirited and patriotic Leaguer like you and therefore I look upon these advances not merely as gifts, but that these supporters of ours really, in fact, constitute a

syndicate and when we come to float a company, which we must in the near future, I am of opinion that they should at least receive shares for the amounts or amount that they place at our disposal. It is for that reason that I am making this suggestion -- that instead of your paying the salary of Joseph every month and giving away your money it will be better to pay in a lump sum and after some time to receive it back in the form of shares. You may consider my suggestion and place it before Mr. Ahmad and let me know what your opinion is.

Once more I am very thankful to you for the help and the interest that you are taking in establishing and launching this venture. I hope to see the paper become a really first class English daily which will be a genuine, real and true voice of Muslim India, and I think, so far, every thing is in our favour. It is a thing which Muslim India never had and if we are able to achieve what we desire, this may give a lead to the other Provinces as the reading public is now growing and is very anxious to know the news and views of Muslim India.

Hoping you are all well, with kindest regards to all of you from *Mis. Jinnah & me.*

Yours sincerely



Hassan Ispahani Esq

The other "public spirited and patriotic Leaguer" referred to is the Raja Sahab of Mahmudabad.

In the meantime, the *Star of India* began to pick up financially and cheer me to such an extent that I was able, out of the earnings, to repay Adamjee's and Ispahani's loans which were quite a tidy sum. This was an achievement thanks appreciably to our good fortune and clean *niyat* (intent). I wrote to the Qaid-e-Azam on 10th March, 1944:

78
My dear Mr. Jinnah:

Just a line to inform you that I have this day returned Sir Adamjee the sum of Rs. 15,000 - that he kindly advanced towards the loss that the *Star of India* was incurring. Our investments too have been returned. . . .

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

In March 1945, the exact date I am not sure, I learnt to my surprise and regret that Pothan Joseph had been tempted to throw up the editorship of *Dawn* by the late Sir Sultan Ahmed of Patna who was at the time member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Information Portfolio. What motive lay behind this piracy I did not know. As for Pothan Joseph's behaviour, I was not a bit surprised because I had become too well acquainted with his character. He would not turn a hair in sacrificing principle for financial gain. Anyway, another editor for *Dawn* became our pressing need.

On April 9, 1945, I received a telegram from Mr. Jinnah who was at New Delhi, reading:

"PLEASE CONTACT ARTHUR MOORE (Editor of the *Statesman*, Calcutta) WOULD HE ACCEPT EDITORSHIP DAWN WHAT REMUNERATION CONDITIONS WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO HIM.

JINNAH"

Arthur Moore was out of Calcutta. On his return I had lunch with him and made the proposal. He declined and said that he was growing too old to continue to stay in India and was, therefore, returning to his home in England. He, however, suggested the name of Altaf Husain, whom I knew well.

Mr. Jinnah spoke to me on the telephone. I told him that Altaf Husain was a master of English, a former professor of English at Calcutta University and at the time an officer in the Ministry of Education, Government of Bengal. I told him that I had known Altaf Husain since 1933. He used to write a Muslim column for the *Statesman* of Calcutta under the pseudonym, "Ainul-Mulk" and later, "Shahid". As I have stated elsewhere, we had managed to persuade him to write a column for the *Musalman* as well. The title of the column was "Slings and Arrows" and the pen name he selected for it was "Archer". It was a column which added considerably to the prestige of our *Majlis* particularly among the thinking and pro-

gressive Muslim elements in Bengal. The column was loathed and dreaded by the cronies whom we dubbed as British toadies.

It was, therefore, not difficult for me to approach Altaf Husain. We met three times and I well appreciated that he had to arrive at a difficult decision. It meant his giving up government service with its attendant security and taking a plunge into unknown and unfathomed waters. However, the last meeting was at my house, 5, Camac Street, at lamplight. I was delighted to hear him say that he had finally decided to take the plunge, come what may, and risk his all for the nation. I shook him warmly by the hand. I was overjoyed. He asked me to convey his decision to Mr. Jinnah, which I did in my letter of May 18, 1945, as under:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

....Altaf Husain is joining the *Dawn*. He is an able writer and will certainly be an acquisition. Have you decided to register the *Dawn* as a company? You expressed this intention to me fifteen months ago. The *Dawn* must be doing very well. In my opinion, this is the time to save in order to build. I feel that the prosperity enjoyed by newspapers will not last very much longer. Government patronage, particularly in advertisements relating to recruitments etc., which is today netting a large income, will gradually diminish.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Altaf Husain reported his arrival at Delhi as fast as he was able and *Dawn*, which had already captured for itself substantial Muslim readership throughout the North and the adjoining Muslim areas, began to grow stronger and stronger with the passage of each month. There was no looking back until Partition compelled a shift from Daryaganj, old Delhi, to Karachi. But as we all know, before the machinery and records could be brought over, the office and printing press of *Dawn* were burnt and destroyed by Hindu and Sikh hooligans. So what was actually brought over were the name *Dawn*, the Editor, Altaf Husain, and I now understand, a cheque book of an Indian bank at Delhi, where the funds of *Dawn* lay frozen.

On the eve of my departure for USA I dined with the Qaid at the Governor-General's House in Karachi. It was on the night of August 31, 1947. We settled several questions such as the Bengal Provincial Muslim League funds, of which I was in charge. He asked me as my family was the main contributor to its coming into

existence as a Muslim daily, what my views were on the future of *Dawn*. I requested him to express his views. He did so to the following effect: "Surely you people will not mind if *Dawn* is converted into a national trust. As for me, I shall be happy to convert *Dawn* into a Muslim national trust".

I told him that he had my consent on the spot and that, for sure, Amir³ would be happy to fall in line. "So," he said, "it is a national trust from this day on. It is a gift to the nation."⁴

Therefore, when I left Karachi, I left with the conviction that *Dawn* was owned by the Nation and was being printed for the usual financial consideration by a comparatively rickety press owned by the Haroons at Napier Road. This impression remained with me until I was startled in March, 1950, by the report that *Dawn* had ceased publication and in its place, the *Herald* was born. The reason for the change in name was given in the issue of March 19. In this connection, I wrote a letter to Miss Jinnah, who was a Trustee, on March 29, 1950, an excerpt of which I produce below:

My dear Miss Jinnah:

The Pakistan Herald Limited has published on page 7 of its issue of March 19, 1950, in bold print an announcement that "Messrs. Pakistan Herald Limited, Proprietors and Publishers of *Dawn*, Karachi, hereby announce for the information of....".

I shall be grateful if you will be so good as to favour me with the information as to how *Dawn* became the property of the Pakistan Herald Limited of Karachi.

I remember very clearly the Qaid-e-Azam telling me that in accordance with the talks that he has had with me and some others regarding *Dawn*, he had made a trust of that newspaper. Even on the eve of my departure to assume charge of our Mission in Washington, when we discussed many important matters and cleared up a few of the old accounts and decided upon the disposal of certain funds, he did not mention to me the sale or transfer of ownership of the *Dawn* to the Pakistan Herald. I write to ask if you are aware of any transaction having taken place between the end of August, 1947, and the time of his demise which could have entitled the Pakistan Herald to claim *Dawn* as its property....

With my best regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

3 The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad.

4 The three shareholders of *Dawn* were the Qaid-e-Azam, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and the Ispahani brothers. What the Qaid told me was obviously *Ex post facto* confirmation of the *Dawn* Trust which was registered at New Delhi and which bore the attestation of his signature by the Sub-Registrar of Delhi dated November 25, 1946, at which time I was in USA projecting the case of Muslim India.

On the 2nd of April, 1950 a statement by Miss Jinnah was published in the *Herald*, the gist of which read as under:

"It was with mixed feelings of regret and relief that I found this morning that *Dawn* had ceased to appear—regret that the paper founded by Qaid-e-Azam, which had played an important role in the fight for freedom and struggle for Pakistan as the true mirror of Muslim aspirations and fearless champion of their cause, should be no more after its existence for over nine years—relief at the thought that this suspension had made it crystal clear that *Dawn* belongs to the nation and has dispelled the confusion that was created in the minds of the people that it was the private possession of a few individuals.

An application made in the Sind Chief Court for the appointment of *mutavallis* since Qaid-e-Azam who was the sole Trustee had not nominated his successor, as envisaged in the Trust Deed, was pending for nearly a year and the decision was announced about a fortnight ago.

When I was in Lahore, I read an announcement in the *Dawn* that the *wakf* known as the Dawn Trust at no time possessed any proprietary interest in the newspaper *Dawn* of Karachi. I emphatically refute this statement. *Dawn* always belonged to the Trust.

....The spirit and method in which the *Dawn* has been suspended so unceremoniously are not worthy of those who claim to be the followers of the Father of the Nation. The honourable course for the publishers of the *Herald* was to approach the Trustees as successors of the Qaid-e-Azam and hand over the *Dawn* to them. Their present action clearly proves that their intent is to throttle *Dawn* out of existence....

Clouds have darkened the horizon. It is now in the hands of the people to see that they soon pass away and *Dawn* emerges once again in all its glory. Nobody can protect national wealth better than the people themselves. *Dawn* is the people's wealth bestowed upon them by the Qaid-e-Azam and I am confident that they will rise as one man to safeguard this heritage from the doom that has been planned for it".

On April 3, Altaf Husain replied to the statement editorially. It was a poor effort. The statement and the reply, I was told, created a public uproar and emotion rose so high that the editor and the publishers of *Dawn* were thrown into a very uncomfortable and precarious position. So on the 4th, the *Herald* died as quickly as it was born three days earlier and *Dawn's* body was exhumed and brought back to life on that day, with the following announcement prominently displayed in a red box on the front page of the re-born *Dawn*:

DAWN ZINDABAD

The people want *Dawn*. I give them back their *Dawn*—no one is happier today than I.

The reasons why the name was changed have been explained. These are matters which appropriate authorities must discuss and settle amongst themselves.

In the meantime *Dawn* rises again. May it dispel the gloom from the people's hearts as it has dispelled the gloom from mine.
Dawn was never dead—it was not intended to die—it will not die.

All these happenings gave to me in Washington much pain.

My brother, Mirza Ahmad, wrote to me from Dacca on April 3 about what had suddenly taken place at Karachi and enclosed a copy of the letter addressed by him to one of our young men, Mirza Abbas, in Karachi asking him to see Miss Jinnah in connection with *Dawn* and assure her that Ispahanis would finance any scheme that would keep *Dawn* alive and active. In his concluding sentence, he advised the young officer thus:

“Please do not delay as *Dawn* should be restored by the Trust without much loss of time.”

The above quotation further confirmed, if confirmation were necessary, that Qaid-e-Azam must have also told my brother after my departure for USA on September 1, 1947, that *Dawn*, by the consent of those who launched and financed it, had been converted into a National Trust.

In view of the circumstances detailed above, *Dawn*, so far as I am concerned, was and still is the nation's daily newspaper, gifted to the nation by the three shareholders and by all moral rights belongs to the nation and not to an individual or company.

FAMINE AND POLITICS

It was in the second half of 1943, that the Muslim League Government of Bengal headed by the late Khwaja Nazimuddin was put under severe strain by the tactics of the Hindu opposition.

The Province of Bengal was passing through famine and unprecedented distress. Thousands died as a result of under-nourishment and starvation.¹ The cities and towns, particularly Calcutta, were crowded with men, women and children, driven from their village homes in search of food. There would have been fewer deaths through starvation in Bengal had the rice-eating population been educated to eat new and even more nourishing foodgrains. The poor people did not know wheat. They did not know what to do with it when it was doled out to them. They did not know how to cook *chapatis* or even prepare a tasty gruel with wheat forming its base. When gruel was served to the starved and emaciated, most of them, particularly the young, fell victims to acute digestive and stomach troubles and died. Today, our East wing presents a different picture. Although the staple diet is still rice, wheat and its products are no longer unknown. They are now eaten, and this fact in terms of acute rice shortage will be a great boon to the Government and the people. The war was being waged with increasing intensity and Japan had gone through South-East Asia as does a hot knife through butter, and having placed Burma under her heels, was knocking at the very gates of India from Cox Bazaar on one side and Imphal on the other.

The Provincial Government was called upon by Delhi to carry out the Russian scorched earth policy and to make as little available to the enemy as possible in the event he succeeded in invading Bengal. Boats, the main means of transportation in East Bengal, were burnt

¹ It was estimated that one hundred thousand died of starvation and approximately one hundred and forth thousand succumbed to cholera.

or broken up, resulting in a major dislocation of the principal means of transportation and communication in the Province. There was also less cultivation and "border areas" were not only uncultivated but were stripped of all surplus and even reasonable reserves. The situation created by the British Indian Government out of fear of a Japanese invasion brought into being famine in some areas, to begin with, and, later, in the entire Province. Distressing reports of death through starvation in the villages began to reach Calcutta and the figures of the dead rose with the passage of each day.

The negligence and ineptitude of the Fazlul Haq/Shyamaprasad Ministry and its failure to take vigorous and early remedial measures added to the gravity of the food situation in Bengal. This unpopular Ministry, which was more interested in doling out patronage and keeping in office than in the people as a whole, was ousted and the Muslim League was entrusted with the responsibility of running the administration at a critical time. The unfortunate Muslim League Government of the Province was called upon to do all in its power to check misery and death. The task was stupendous and the chances of successful accomplishment slender.

The Muslim League Government, notwithstanding the severe handicaps, went into action without loss of time. It was entrusted with an extremely difficult task. It had no machinery at its disposal to purchase rice in the surplus areas of Bengal, Orissa and Bihar. It was in these extraordinarily difficult circumstances that the firm of M.M. Ispahani Limited, who for years had been Bengal's leading rice merchants and had at their disposal an organisation that could be set in motion by the pressing of a button, were called upon by the Governor and his Cabinet to step in and help in the people's hour of agony. Opinion among the Directors of the Company was not unanimous as one considered Government's business was best left alone. Patriotic and humanitarian considerations, however, overrode all considerations and Ispahanis stepped in and got down to work.

Conditions were so bad and the food shortage in the Province so great that nothing less than heavy imports from outside the Province and from abroad and their quick distribution could bring relief to the sufferers and to the dying. Help from other parts of India was both slow in coming and meagre. War conditions and lack of safety at sea made speedy outside assistance almost impossible. The South-Asian granaries, which were close to Bengal, were occupied by Japan. And aid, even if ships escaped Japan's attack, from far-off countries, was as bad as having no aid at all. The need of the hour was rice to be collected and more speedily distributed to the

areas where none was available. East Bengal being a deltaic region and the main means of transportation being boats which had been destroyed in thousands in compliance with the Centre's scorched earth policy, the speed of distribution was naturally slow. Ispahanis' task was to purchase on behalf of Government rice where available in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and to ask Government to arrange its transportation to deficit areas. For this work, the Company was given a nominal commission.

After weeks of activity, a whispering campaign was started in Calcutta which spread like wild fire and later developed into violent attacks on the Muslim League Government for having created the famine in association with Ispahanis. The Opposition in the Legislature, the Hindu Mahasabha, led by Dr. Shyamaprasad Mukerjee and the Forward Bloc led by the pompous Sarat Chandra Bose (elder brother of the late Subhas Chandra Bose) and Dr. N. Sanyal, a vociferous member of the Assembly, spearheaded the onslaught. They attacked the Governor, a simple, honest and God-fearing Englishman. They went hammer and tongs for the Muslim League Government and Ispahanis. In the process of their propaganda, truth was not important. What mattered was to utter a lie as often and as loudly as they could in the hope of making at least some of it stick. The Hindu press in Bengal was large and powerful. Against this giant, the Muslims of the Province had little to show.* Their papers were fewer and their circulation comparatively much smaller. The Hindu newspapers gave unstinted support to the Congress/Mahasabha in the Bengal Assembly. They published reports of the proceedings of the Legislature, reports *in extenso* of the major speeches delivered by Hindus which were packed with lies, with the aim of discrediting the Government and certain hand-picked individuals. The utterers of the lies in the Legislature were protected by parliamentary privilege and so were the publishers outside who were "merely reporting the privileged speeches". Added to the reports were carefully-worded innuendos by the reporters or the editors which added further fuel to the fire of wanton and naked untruths. Yes, the Congress and Mahasabha in Bengal went all out to discredit and destroy the Muslim League and those who supported it loyally in more ways than one. The Hindus did not care whether the means they adopted were fair or foul.

A blistering fire was maintained for some months adding to the difficulties of those who were endeavouring their utmost to

* *Star of India*, *Morning News* in English, *Azad* in Bengali and *Asre Jadid* in Urdu.

reduce distress and to save lives. It was during this time that Mr. Shaheed Suhrawardy did great work for the people of Bengal and saved hundreds of thousands of innocent lives. It was at this time also that the Hindu leaders and their press were acting in unison as enemy agents. They were fanning the flames of suspicion and were, at the same time, demolishing the structure of confidence which was so essential in time of war. Ispahanis were blamed for creating the famine, and what was their crime? They were, in accordance with Government request, purchasing rice and paddy in surplus areas and sending the grains to the areas in distress. To create a famine by purchasing rice from surplus areas in Bengal, Bihar and Orissa and rushing it to the deficit areas to arrest deaths through starvation, was *prima facie* absurd and a purely mischievous piece of thinking. The total purchases of Ispahanis on behalf of Government amounted to an insignificant fraction of the total shortage of well over a million tons which had resulted from various major factors given above.

The talk and propaganda that famine was the creation of the Muslim League Government of Bengal and Ispahanis was too absurd for any sensible man to believe. Even Hindu political leaders like Dr. Mukerjee and Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose admitted in private that they were fighting a political battle with no restriction on the choice of weapons. Each time facts and figures² were given in reply to the wild and irresponsible statements of the Opposition in the Assembly with no effect. As I have stated earlier, the Hindu press reported Hindu speeches *in extenso* and mischievously printed brief excerpts of speeches made from Government benches. It was particularly painful to me to sit with Government in the Assembly and listen to masses of lies fabricated by the Congress and Mahasabha political factory. These leaders were determined to evade facts which were ably presented by the incorruptible Prime Minister, Khwaja Nazimuddin, by his able and hard-working Minister, H.S. Suhrawardy, and the late Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and other speakers from Government benches. Both Mr. Abdur Rahman Siddiqi and I more than once challenged the speakers of the Opposition to be bold enough to make their statements outside the protective privileged walls of the Legislature. But to our everlasting regret, such defamatory statements were not made outside the Chamber. And the Hindu-owned press of Calcutta in particular and elsewhere in general, as I have stated, faithfully and prominently reproduced all the libel that was uttered in the House. They too operated under the protection of privilege.

² The Government published on October 18 1943, a White Paper refuting the baseless charges of the Opposition.

I have narrated the story of the famine in Bengal, solely with the object of recording the reaction of the Qaid-e-Azam. He was cool and collected all through. All the hullabaloo created in Bengal did not disturb him much. We, however, were most unhappy; particularly the Ispahani brothers. My elder brother, Mirza Ahmad, went to Bombay to see the Qaid to tell him of our embarrassment and to seek his advice. The Qaid heard him attentively and advised him on his return to Calcutta to keep on furnishing facts and not take to heart the agitation of our sworn enemies. Being young and emotional by nature, I suffered a severe nervous breakdown and I am beholden to the late Dr. B. C. Roy, a really great man, a great statesman, a famous doctor of medicine and an admirable administrator and industrialist, who became Chief Minister of West Bengal after Partition and died in July 1967, for saving my life.

When my health improved, I saw the Qaid in Bombay and told him how bitterly I had felt the undeserved humiliation and kicks which Ispahanis had got instead of receiving thanks for the service they had rendered during a period of grave crisis. His reply was, and I quote him, "You are too emotional for a politician. You must learn to control your feelings. A politician should expect to be hit and should have the strength to hit back. Of course, I do not believe even an iota of all the nonsense of Hindu propaganda. I am used to their lies and am aware of their power to do mischief. The Muslim League Government and its supporters have done excellent work. The Opposition picked out your family for adverse publicity to scare you boys out of your wits and to force you to beat a retreat from the League. The Hindus think that you fellows are one of the strong limbs of the League and that it is your money which increases the strength of the League in Bengal. With you out, they think that they will cripple the League in Bengal. They are fools. They refuse to see or admit that Muslim Bengal is now awake and is behind the League. They will soon see their error. Do not be a child; stop worrying".

This talk was for me better than all the medicines and tonics which had been administered to me to restore my shattered health. I learned one more lesson from my great leader and that was not to be too sensitive in politics, particularly when one had no skeletons to hide in his cupboard and to face opponents with courage and deal them blow for blow.

The Qaid was right again. Neither did the Muslim League nor Ispahanis receive a setback. By Allah's grace, both went from

strength to strength and Pakistan was eventually established. The more violent the Hindu attack became, the larger became the following of the League and the greater the sympathy of Muslim India for my family. I give below excerpts from important letters of the time which were exchanged between the Qaid and myself which describe more graphically the tension and agony that gripped us all during the horrible days through which we passed.

20th September, 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

While mud-slinging by the Opposition led by Shyama Prasad Mukerjee continues, while attempt by it to drag the clean name of Ispahani to dust continues with unabated fury, while Government continues to give smashing replies to both, while publicity by the Hindu press and the by news agencies continues to be given to the case and utterances of the Opposition, while there is partial or total blackout of the Government side of the case by these very instruments of news conveyance, I see bad days ahead, days that no Government in the Province, whatever be its composition, can prevent from dawning, unless drastic steps are taken and serious efforts are made by the Central Government to bring into Bengal a large and continuous flow of foodgrains from provinces more happily situated. It is for the Governments of the United Nations¹ too to sit up and take serious note of the situation that is fast developing in Bengal. They must arrange to release freight space for the carriage of foodgrains in large quantities, from countries that have a surplus. As I have stated above, no Government in our Province can perform a miracle—none can produce rice sufficient to feed the people when there is little or nothing available. I foresee dreadful days ahead. May I be wrong! I apprehend that we shall pass through a horrible crisis, the like of which has not been recorded, between 15th of October and 15th of December.

The food position is not improving. The Ministry in the Punjab, a province that can spare the food, is busy picking holes and finding fault with Bengal instead of helping her to the fullest extent. It seems to me that Khizr Hayat Khan is completely under the thumb of the bania Choturam who is out, for political reasons, to embarrass and not to assist us.

Unless those who can help and in them I include the Government of India, Churchill and Roosevelt, help without delay, Bengal will be turned into a graveyard and it should not then surprise anyone if the Muslim majority in the Province turns into a minority when the next census is taken.

I am sure you can come to the aid of Bengal in her hour of distress. Cannot you contact Khizr and the Viceroy of India? Cannot you draw the attention of Churchill and Roosevelt to the urgency of Bengal's need? Cannot you demand immediate relief? Bengal has become the first line of defence against the Japanese. It is the bounden duty of the United

¹ In World War II the allies who fought against the Axis called themselves United Nations.

Nations to come to her aid? They should bring rice and wheat from the USA, Brazil, Canada and Australia who have more than they need.

Perhaps, many of our leaders here will refuse to strike so pessimistic a note as I have done. But in keeping with my practice of pouring out my heart to you, I am writing these lines. Please forgive me.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

18th October, 1943

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I am enclosing a cartoon that appeared in the *Jugantar* dated 7th October, 1943. The *Jugantar* is the Bengali edition of the *Amrita Bazaar Patrika* owned by the same concern. It shows to what depths of degradation politics in Bengal can go. The cartoonist actually makes fun of his gods and goddesses.

Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada⁴ are at present touring East Bengal. They will return on the 23rd instant and will leave for North Bengal and West Bengal on the 24th. I expect the tour to finish by the 28th instant. I have authorised them to examine all our relief centres on their tour and to open such centres as they consider necessary. The cost will be borne by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. This tour, coupled with the opening of centres by them, will do our organisation good and will make those in distress feel that the League is doing some good service.

I am glad to inform you that when our next Bulletin is issued, we shall publish the fact that sixty free gruel and milk centres have been established throughout Bengal by the Muslim Chamber of Commerce. These Centres will feed about 38,000 persons a day. This is not a mean achievement. Our work on this scale is made possible because of the remittances we receive from all over India—thanks to your very kind appeal. I have one satisfaction and it is that not one pie of the money received is being wasted or misappropriated by anyone.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN



23rd October 1943.

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL

My Dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter of the 18th of October along with the enclosed cutting showing the cartoon in *Jugantar*, but I am

⁴ Nawabzada Liaqat Ali Khan.

afraid, my Bengalee is not so good as to follow this unless you explain it to me. However, I ^{have} kept it and would like to know what it means

I am glad that the League Leaders are now in Bengal and that you people are doing all you can to relieve the sufferings which from all accounts are really terrible.

I have received a cheque for Rs. 10,000/-, donation from His Majesty, King Ibne Saud, which I have dispatched and I am happy to know from you that the money is properly utilized. The Working Committee as you know is going to meet on the 13th and the Council of the All-India Muslim League meets on the 14th of November and by that time we should be in a better position to know how and where we stand. I am awaiting the report of Nawab Ismail Khan and Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, who are now touring Bengal and we will do all we can to help Bengal.

As regards the scandalous allegations against your firm also is a matter that we shall consider, but it seems to me from this distance that for the present we should ignore them and treat them with contempt but if any further attempt of mudslinging is made against the integrity of your firm, we shall see what can be done. I have followed it very keenly and critically through the press reports and I find that it has been clearly shown that our opponents are making a political capital of it and it is due to malice and illwill which is apparent and they must fail in their dishonest propaganda.

With very kind regards to all of you from Miss Jinnah and myself.

Yours Sincerely,

M. Jinnah

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5, Camac Street,
Calcutta.

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your letter of the 23rd instant, received on the 27th idem.

I shall explain the *Jugantar* cartoon when we meet.

Your cheque for Rs. 10,000/- has not yet been received. It must be on its way. We shall be touching the three lacs mark in cash donations and one lac mark in kind donations to the Chamber Fund. I am glad that Nawab Saheb and Nawabzada are pleased with the work that is being done.

As regards the scandalous allegations against our firm, I think sufficient has been said and there seems to be a lull for sometime. It is, of course, for you and the League to decide when they meet in Delhi whether the reward of unstinted service to the cause and to the people is silence and not a word of protest. So far as the Bengal Ministry goes, it has repeatedly handed us bouquets and has openly acknowledged our sacrifices and services because they know that but for our service they would not have remained in office so long. But the Ministry is called partisan and their utterances and statements are denied publicity even by "non-political" news services like the A.P.I. Fancy the A.P.I. from here sending the factual statement of Suhrawardy regarding Ispanahis on the 18th of October and yet not a single newspaper in the whole of India bar Calcutta, publishing it. It is now found that the fault lay with the A.P.I. office in Bombay. The Bombay office of the A.P.I. has struck us below the belt. The Government of Bengal are taking up the matter with the A.P.I. here and A.P.I. will reply that they have transmitted the message in its entirety. Bombay chokes every speech or statement in favour of the League and seems to give the fullest publicity to every utterance or statement of our enemies and yet the A.P.I. claims to be non-political. So much tripe and rubbish have filled the columns of every "Nationalist" paper in India regarding Ispaharis' transactions and dealings. When replies are given and nebulous charges are met and the allegations smashed to smithereens, they do not publish them. This is neither fair nor decent. The A.P.I. Bombay certainly owes an explanation.

If the Muslim League High Command cannot come to the assistance of or does not defend those who serve the cause and the people and fight against such unclean tactics, who will? And who will dare to serve when called upon?

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself.

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

In reply, I received a re-assuring letter dated November 5, 1943 reading as under:

"...Let me assure you that the Muslim League High Command will never desert those who are our loyal friends but in this case, there can be no hesitation to adopt measures to repel 'unclean tactics' to use your own words, and false allegations that are made".

In early 1965 Mr. P. N. Kaul, Deputy High Commissioner for India in Pakistan, came to me at the Moroccan National Day Reception and told me that he had read an interesting article in one of the weekly magazines of India in which my name and services appeared prominently. Mr. M. K. Kirpalani, a former I.C.S. posted in Bengal, was the writer of the article. At my request, Mr. Kaul sent me the magazine two days later, marking the relevant portion, which I quote below as an epilogue to the happenings which pained me beyond measure at the time:

THE ILLUSTRATED WEEKLY OF INDIA

September 6, 1964

THE I.C.S. AND I-6

By Moti K. Kirpalani

.....The second assignment presented serious difficulties. Owners of stocks of rice were scattered through Bengal. Though patriotic enough, they wanted cash payment. Rice had to be gathered and carted to depots in the Interior and guarded against damp, pilferage, damage by insects. We failed to find any agency that could help.

Time was pressing and the Governor, Sir John Herbert, called on me one day and said: "You have got to do something; you must act quickly."

I think I was fortunate then to chance upon a man of great drive and resource, Mr. M.A.H. Ispahani, who had the necessary organisation, hardy men and ready cash to undertake the task. We settled on the terms, which were approved by the Government.

Later the deal with Ispahani came in for serious criticism at the hands of the Finance Minister, Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee, and others. It is easy to be wise after event. Ispahani blazed the trail which others followed.

It may be of interest to note that Mr. Moti K. Kripalani was a Hindu and an Indian Civil Servant with an unblemished record of integrity. Having been in an important chair at the time of the Bengal famine and having had top secret information available to him and not being particularly a Muslim-lover but, nevertheless, a fair-minded person, he has chosen to record facts as were known to him. The only error he has made is in the initials, which should have been M.A. (Mirza Ahmad, my elder brother) instead of M.A.H.

MORE ABOUT THE MAN

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a man of slender build and gave the impression that a slight touch would throw him off physical balance. This was an incorrect appraisal. Though he looked emaciated, he was strong and courageous. When he was approaching the age of seventy and was exhausted with work that would have broken the back of a man thirty years younger, he met the unexpected dagger attack of a young Khaksar fanatic, bearing the name Rafique Saber, at his residence in Bombay in the last week of July, 1943.

I wrote to him from Calcutta on July 28 as below:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

Providence has been most merciful to the Muslims of India for having spared your life by giving you the presence of mind to parry the assassin's dagger.

May you recover speedily and may you live long to guide and serve your people....

....My brother Mirza Ahmad must have called on you.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

He relieved my anxiety by replying on August 3, as under:

My dear Hassan:

Many thanks for your telegram and your letter. Don't worry. Thank God, I am alright, more when we meet. Thanking you for your good wishes.

Ahmad was here and I had a long talk with him and he has left for Lucknow and will soon be in Calcutta and tell you all about it.

With kindest regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

The young man came to see him with murder as his object and goal. Seeing no one around, he whipped out his knife and plunged towards the Qaid. The Qaid, who was gifted with great presence of mind, spontaneously stretched his long arm and got hold firmly of the assassin's wrist, held it down with the strength he possessed and called out to his Assistant Secretary, A. Y. Syed, who was in the next room. The culprit was apprehended and the law court awarded him the punishment he richly deserved for his cowardly attack on an elderly and respected person.

The Qaid told me that he had retained his calm throughout the dastardly attack and acted as if nothing worth mentioning had taken place. To us and to the rest of India, he had proven that he was a brave man and physically strong for his advanced age.

By precept and practice, Mohammed Ali Jinnah has shown that not only can life be clean but that political life and the life of a statesman can also be immaculate. He has demonstrated that to even gain a vital objective for the people whom one serves, one has not to resort to dubious methods. To him the cause always took precedence over self. He wore himself out and died because self, as it concerns the average politician, veteran or new convert, did not concern him. It was the cause and the goal which mattered.

I can narrate several incidents which I had the privilege to observe during the years that I worked as his political disciple. I shall cite just one.

It was in early 1946, when the post-war elections to the Bengal Legislative Assembly were being held and I was a candidate for the Muslim Chamber of Commerce seat at Calcutta, having made way for a dear friend of mine, Khwaja Nooruddin, in the South Calcutta constituency which I had represented from 1937 until 1946. Two days before the closing of the nomination date, a member of the Chamber, much to the surprise of elders and leaders like the late Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood, filed his nomination papers as a candidate. Notwithstanding persuasion and pressure, he refused to withdraw.

It was at this time that Qaid-e-Azam arrived to stay with us in Calcutta. One evening, just as he and I had returned home after a drive, Abdur Rahman Siddiqi, one of our veteran politicians and an old friend, rushed in with the news that he had had a long talk with my opponent and had finally succeeded in persuading him to withdraw on condition that I refunded to him Rs. 250/-, the money deposited by

him at the time of filing his nomination. The Qaid, who had not heard what Siddiqi had said, asked him to repeat his words. Siddiqi complied and like an arrow released from a bow came his admonition. These were his words: "Pay money? Indirectly bribe to get a candidate to withdraw? No, never. Tell him at once that his offer is rejected. Hassan will fight him."

Abdur Rahman Siddiqi appeared shaken for a moment but having regained his composure, said that he would convey the Qaid's message and left. We moved on to the back verandah and settled in comfortable chairs. The Qaid said to me: "My boy, that was the only answer a man could give. Morality in politics is even more important than in private life because if you do something wrong in public life, you hurt far more people who depend on you". Of course, I agreed; how could I do otherwise?

The election was held in due course and not one vote, not even that of my opponent, was cast in his ballot box.

After reading Kanji Dwarkadas's book* recently, I realised that what the Qaid had preached, he had also practised in his own political life. In Kanji Dwarkadas's words, I narrate:

"In 1926, Jinnah was a candidate for the Central Legislative Assembly from the Mohammedan Constituency in Bombay. He was over-confident of success and took no pains to organise an election campaign. Ruttie,** Sir Puishottamdas Thakurdas and I were worried and amused at Jinnah's over-confidence because all the time Jinnah was saying 'The electorate is on its trial'. In the end, Sir Purshottamdas and I, therefore, canvassed for votes for him from the captains of a Steamship Company. What happened on the election day is worth recording. Quite unasked, Jinnah's Hindu friends sent him at least 100 cars to enable him to get his Muslim voters to the polling booths. They wrote to him that owing to the Communal electorates, they could not cast their votes for him but they would at least do some service to the Motherland by helping him to win the election by giving him their cars. The rest of the story is told in my letter of the 7th November, 1945, to the 'Bombay Chronicle':

"Will you please let me correct a mis-statement which appeared in Birbal's notes in the Chronicle of 3rd November? He says that about two decades ago, Mr. Hussenhbai Laljee who was contesting the election for the Mohammedan seat from the City for the Central Legislative Assembly withdrew in favour of Mr. Jinnah in spite of the fact that he was winning the election. This is not true. These are the facts. There were three

* India's Fight For Freedom 1913-1937 (1966).

** Mrs. Jinnah.

candidates—Mr. Jinnah, Mr. Salebhoy Barodawalla and Mr. Hussenhoy Laljee. By 10 in the morning, there was no doubt as to what the result would be, as for every ten votes that Mr. Jinnah was getting, the other two candidates were hardly getting four. Before mid-day, Mr. Barodawalla approached Mr. Jinnah and suggested that Mr. Jinnah should request him to withdraw as then it would make it easy for him to withdraw. Mr. Jinnah very politely said that it was not for him to ask him to withdraw and he did not mind his carrying on the fight till the end of the day. Within half an hour, Mr. Barodawalla withdrew. A little later, Mr. Hussenhoy Laljee who realised that Mr. Jinnah was scoring heavily, approached him with a request that he might be asked to withdraw. Mr. Jinnah told him to carry on and he would not ask him to withdraw. Votes were recorded right till late in the afternoon and Mr. Jinnah had a thumping majority against the two other candidates."

When lauded for his reputation for incorruptibility, the Qaid would retort that those who praised did not please or honour him. To him it was natural for human beings to be honourable and impeccable in their dealings and unnatural to be otherwise.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a tough task master. He drove himself as hard as he drove others. If something had to be done, it had to be done quickly. He had no time to waste. Food, rest and sleep had to wait their turn. It was his urge to forge ahead with his work as speedily as possible which prevented him from eating and resting at the right hour and which, in later years, sapped his energy faster than he could replace. It was this overtaxation of his naturally frail body, particularly during the last few years of his life, that made him an easy victim of tuberculosis, which ailment took him to his grave. I remember servants announcing lunch or dinner when he was busy discussing a problem or dictating a draft or a letter. He would take no notice. His sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, tired of waiting for her brother, would sometimes put in an appearance and say that the food was getting cold. He would politely reply, "Just a few more minutes" or say "Go and start and I shall join you in a while". But the little while often turned into a long while. He had to do his work first and then think of food and other things.

Mr. Jinnah was a meticulously methodical man and insisted on accuracy. He had no patience with vagueness. He equally did not have time for nor could tolerate a woolly-minded person. With him, one had to be brief and clear if one wanted Mr. Jinnah to seriously hear him a second time.

By and large, he had no time for sentiment. He appeared to be too much of a realist and down-to-earth man. He did not possess

a nature which sought to befriend everyone or to love many. By nature, he was inclined to be reserved, although he changed substantially in this respect during the closing stages of his life. He loved very few, indeed. Love to him was not a cheap commodity which he could give away in basketfuls.

I remember Khwaja Nazimuddin, member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee and a respected political figure of Bengal, being taken seriously ill at New Delhi in the first week of April, 1946. There were symptoms of a mild heart attack. He was rushed to hospital and admitted as a private patient. Having heard that his illness was serious, while we were at Mr. Jinnah's residence, the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and I decided to visit our stricken friend and colleague and told Mr. Jinnah of our proposed visit to the hospital and enquired if he would like to visit Khwaja Nazimuddin as well. We were rudely shocked and tongue-tied when we heard him say that if he took to visiting the sick and ailing once, he would have to devote most of his time to this duty and would not have enough hours in which to do his important work upon which the future of the Muslims of the sub-continent depended. After uttering these words, he switched his attention back to the pile of papers which surrounded the green leather chair in his study. We left his room disappointed and went to the hospital to find, much to our surprise, Khwaja Nazimuddin pacing up and down his room and as cheerful as a lark. He greeted us with the happy news that nothing had gone wrong with his heart and that he had suffered from indigestion resulting from his indiscreet behaviour at the dining table.

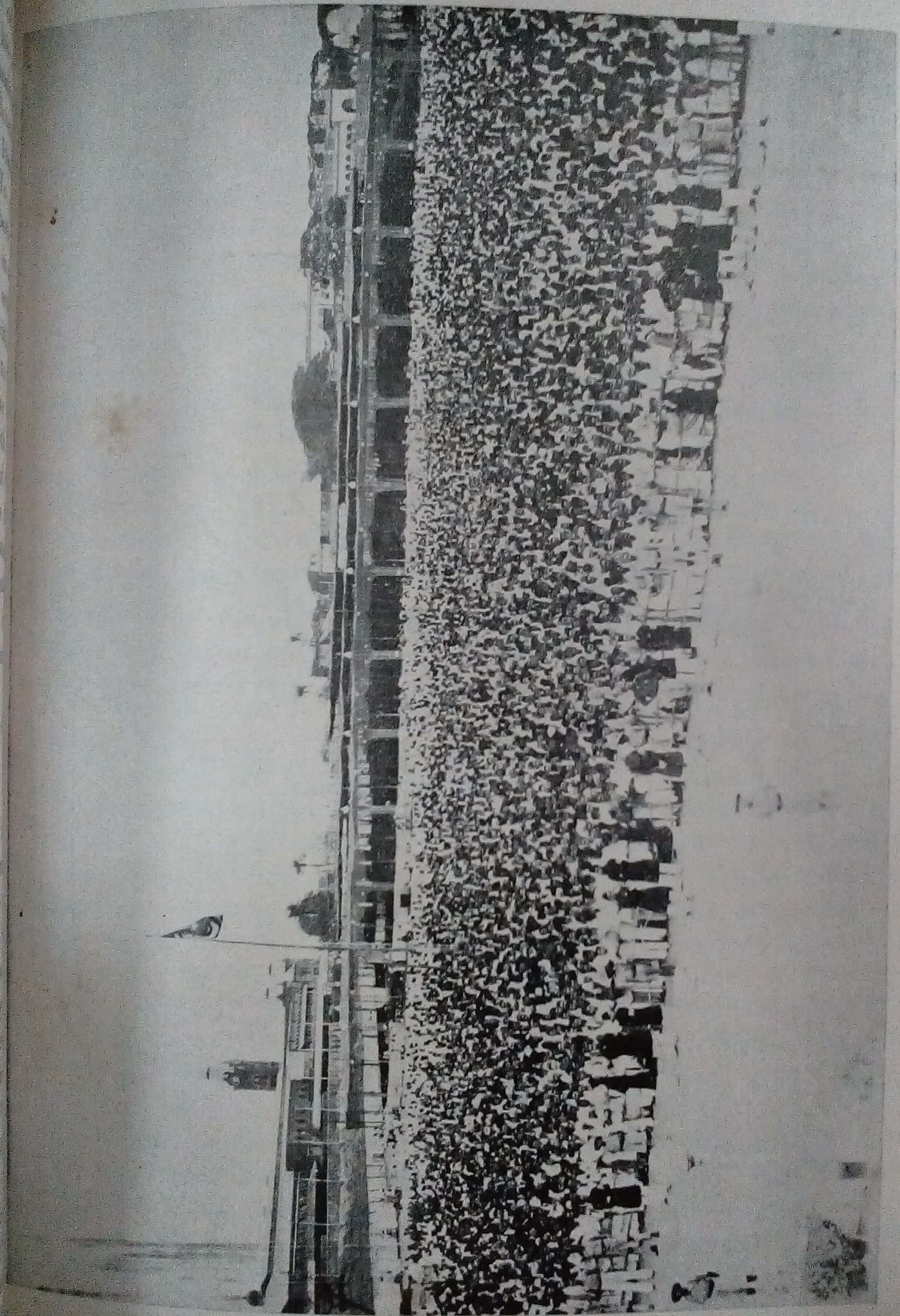
Mr. Jinnah was gifted with an inexhaustible store of will power. Once he decided upon a course of action, no persuasion or argument would distract him from that course. If, for example, he decided to go somewhere or not to take more than a quantity fixed by him of food or other refreshment, no amount of persuasion and no temptation would wring a change in his resolve. He had so disciplined himself that he could, without stress and strain, resist all temptations and pleadings. Yet, hard and determined as he was, his hardness was occasionally lined with sentiments and appreciation. I shall not forget one incident which brought to the fore this little-known facet of his character. I shall narrate it:

It was an evening session of the All-India Muslim League's annual session at Delhi in 1943. The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and I dined with Mr. Jinnah and Miss Fatima Jinnah and as time for the commencement of the session was fast approaching, we took leave

to go and be in our seats as members of the Working Committee before his arrival. Instead of saying "Go ahead", he asked us to stay back. He wanted us both to accompany him and Miss Jinnah to the session. This command came as a great surprise to us both. We, of course, obeyed. We drove to the session in the same car as Miss Jinnah and her illustrious brother. On alighting at the gate of the pandal, the Raja and I stopped to permit our leader to make his now usual spectacular entry, accompanied by his sister, amidst thundering cheers and applause from the gathering of over a lakh, welcoming their hero and their leader who was fighting the British and the Hindus to establish for them a homeland in the sub-continent. To our astonishment, the Qaid did not move forward. He asked us both to join him and Miss Jinnah and ordered that we four should walk in one line. As we covered the distance of about one hundred yards which separated the gate from the dais, he turned to one of us and with an expression full of cheer said: "My boys, are you not delighted to see such a spectacle? See the large crowd assembled tonight? Have we not grown tremendously in a short time? I wanted you both to accompany me tonight so that I could show my appreciation of the services you two have rendered to the League and also to show this to the people". We could not believe our ears. This warm gesture, coming from a man reputed to be cold and matter-of-fact, was totally unexpected but it certainly did demonstrate that the man of iron also had, within his frail frame, a human and appreciating heart.

I shall have to relate another incident to illustrate the human side of his character.

On my return from Europe in January, 1947, I brought for my leader, a selection of ties and two bow-ties worn with the dinner jacket, from Sulka's of Paris. At the time, he was at Karachi. As was my habit to call on Mr. Jinnah, at the earliest opportunity, I went to see him, carrying my insignificant gifts with me. Mr. Jinnah, as is well known, was fond of good clothes and particularly partial to good neckwear. When I submitted my small selection to him, he expressed satisfaction. When he got to the bow ties, he said, "Well, these appear to be hand-tying bow ties". I replied in the affirmative. He told me that he had to make a confession, if the truth was not already known to me. Expressing my anxiety to know the truth, he went on to say that he had never learnt to tie a bow tie and, therefore, much as he liked the design and quality of Sulka's silk, the bow ties were of no use to him. This bit of previously unknown news surprised me and I told him that I was under the impression that the immaculate dress bows he wore were all tied with his own hands. "No, No", he said,



A section of the crowd welcoming him at Madras—1941

By courtesy of Maharama Fatema Jaseeb

“Pakistan was not the product of the conduct or misconduct of the Hindus. It had always been there, only they were not conscious of it. Hindus and Muslims, though living in the same towns and villages, had never been blended into one nation; they were always two separate entities.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at Aligarh,
March 8, 1944.

"the bows that I wear are all ready-made with steel buckles on the nape of the neck." I told him that no fashionable man wore a ready-made bow and it was time that he learnt tying one. He agreed and asked me to teach him and I, with great pleasure, undertook the responsibility. Using my right thigh as the neck, I tied and untied a bow ten times to show him how it is first knotted and brought into perfect shape thereafter. He watched my demonstration with the keenness of a schoolboy and then said that he would like to try a hand at bow-tying. His efforts were very poor and unrewarding at least for the first dozen times, then the bow began to take shape and to assume a reasonable appearance. We talked for a while about my trip since we parted in London and he then went back to the business of tying a bow. When I left, I certified that he had graduated in the school for knotting a bow tie and that he should, hereafter, discard all ready-made bows and take to hand tying. The months and the years which followed were so heavily laden with responsibility and unceasing hard work that I do not know if the Qaid had an opportunity to don his dinner jacket two or three times, before he fell seriously ill and from which sick bed he did not rise again. I have narrated this little episode to show how human he was and how interested he was in learning even small things inspite of his tremendous preoccupation and the heavy load of responsibility he carried on his frail but willing shoulders.

Qaid-e-Azam, as I have stated earlier, possessed a strong will and it was, therefore, a Herculean task for anyone to change it. Many a time he took the chair at a Working Committee meeting with his mind made up on the course of action he would advise his colleagues to take and yet would listen patiently to their speeches and suggestions although they may have run counter to his line of thinking. He would then proceed to demolish the arguments which did not fit into his pattern of thinking and would do his best to win over the obstinate. He would not rest until he got his way. Even in meetings with other Party leaders and the British, he would not cross the line he had drawn, whatever the threat, persuasion or inducement. It was on extremely rare occasions that he would bend even slightly.

It was a common saying of the Qaid that if one has faith in what he undertakes and in what he does, he puts into the job his best endeavour and when success attends him, his joy is great and is mixed with thankfulness. He would often say, "Have faith and you will triumph". What a splendid attitude of mind and inspiration for us all, old and young.

He would go to great lengths to seek or maintain unity for he

knew that unity meant strength but when it clashed with a fundamental principle, it is the latter which stood out and prevailed.

Qaid-e-Azam was a disciplined man and he attached high value to discipline in life for without it an organised society could not exist, much less flourish. He preached discipline and called for discipline even at public meetings when emotion got the better of the masses who had gathered to cast a loving eye on their hero and to hear him give advice and to explain the state of our nation to them. He was gifted with such a magnetic personality that a couple of calls to order over a microphone, with his index finger pointing towards the gathering, were adequate to convert bedlam into pin-drop silence.

One of his oft-uttered and oft-quoted remarks was: "You must be disciplined if you want to achieve your destiny and vote for even a lamp post if you are called upon by your Party to do so". It was the discipline which his magnetic influence created in his one hundred million followers which enabled him to wrench from the unwilling hands of the British and the Hindus a homeland for the Muslims of the sub-continent, in which we and our children live as free people without fear of domination or persecution.

No one will appreciate the extent to which the three words which appear on our national emblem—Faith, Unity, Discipline—guided the Father of Pakistan in his daily life and thought and why he presented them to the nation for all time to come. With Faith, Unity and Discipline he was confident that the people of Pakistan, his children, would surmount handicaps, hurdles, trials and tribulations and meet any onslaught on their freedom with determination and with valour.

Qaid-e-Azam could not countenance or forgive dishonourable or unfair conduct. Several instances can be cited in support. Here is one:

On February 20, 1946, simultaneous announcements were made in the two Houses of Parliament intimating the Cabinet's decision to send a delegation to India to negotiate the transfer of power with Indian leaders. The three members were Lord Pethick-Lawrence, Secretary of State for India, Sir Stafford Cripps, President of the Board of Trade, and A.V. Alexander, First Lord of the Admiralty. According to Prime Minister Attlee's statement in the Commons, the Ministers were proceeding to India with the express aim of trying to assist the Indians to achieve freedom as quickly and as fully

as possible. The form of government that they would want was for the Indians themselves to decide. He hoped that on the attainment of freedom, India would decide to remain a member of the Commonwealth. He went on to say that the British Government was "mindful of the rights of the minorities who should be able to live free from fear. On the other hand, we cannot allow the minority to place a veto on the advance of the majority."¹

This last sentence justifiably drew fire from the President of the Muslim League who promptly declared that the Muslims were not a minority but a separate nation and Muslim co-operation would not be forthcoming if the Cabinet Mission proceeded on any other assumption.

However, the Cabinet Mission arrived at New Delhi on March 24, 1946. The leader of the Mission, Lord Pethick-Lawrence tried to remove the effect of Attlee's ill-advised utterance by remarking: "While the Congress are representative of large numbers, it would not be right to regard the Muslim League as merely a minority political party. They are in fact majority representatives of the great Muslim community."²

What took place during the Cabinet Mission's stay in the sub-continent now forms part of history and these pages need not reproduce the events in detail.

I may here state another instance of dishonourable conduct which the Qaid could not condone even though the person involved was an old time and trusted colleague. This happened during Sir Stafford Cripps Mission to India in the Spring of 1942, when the war situation was not a happy one for Britain.

The Working Committee of the Muslim League, like its rival the Congress Working Committee, was engaged in holding one or two meetings a day to consider the suggestions, proposals and counter-proposals springing from various camps, including, of course, Sir Stafford's. After a day or two, it became patent to us in the Working Committee that someone was leaking details of our deliberations to the Hindu press of Delhi. As we were all men of honour in whom the Muslim nation had trust and as our head was no other than Mohammed Ali Jinnah, their idol, there grew much discomfiture

¹ V. P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.

² *Ibid.*

amongst us. Each one suspected the other in silence and the situation became increasingly embarrassing for all.

The next day the matter was raised by one of the members at the Committee meeting and he expressed surprise and shame that the secrets of the Working Committee should leak out to the press and thereby help the Congress, the Mahasabha and the Sikhs to prepare their case and to meet our arguments swiftly if and when they were presented through our spokesman to Sir Stafford Cripps. Mr. Jinnah, who was himself unhappy over the irresponsibility and unreliability of a member or members, solemnly expressed his displeasure and without naming anyone requested all members to remember that they owed a duty to the Muslim nation by virtue of their high position of trust and that they should not betray it by giving out secret information, for that did our people incalculable harm and our enemies an equal amount of good. He requested that members should desist from reporting the gist of our deliberations not only to so-called friends and the press but also to their most trusted relations and friends. We were happy that the President had issued a mild warning, potent enough for any responsible or honourable man, and felt that it would not go unheeded. But our hopes were belied for again the next day New Delhi's influential English daily newspaper the *Hindustan Times* carried reports which contained some information of what had taken place behind closed doors in the dining room of 8B, Hardinge Avenue, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan's residence.

Once more the matter was raised in the Committee and the President expressed his sad disappointment and shame that notwithstanding the request and warning of the previous day, news should have again found its way to the press. Every member assured the President with equal confidence that he had not committed the offence.

After the meeting, each member engaged himself in trying to discover the source which was responsible for the leakage. All were understandably anxious to trace the culprit. So New Delhi became a "hot" city. Several Sherlock Holmes were suddenly let loose to solve the baffling mystery. Suffice it to say, various independent investigations led to the same man, an old, loyal and trusted Muslim Leaguer whom Mr. Jinnah was fond of. The news about the culprit was brought to him by some members in strict secrecy. It was bad news for him because it had shaken his confidence in one whom he trusted. But personal likes and dislikes, as usual, had to give way to something nobler and they did. When the new Working Com-

103

nittee of the Muslim League was announced, this particular member's name was missing from the list. He paid the price for his indiscretion, if he harboured no other motive, and Mohammed Ali Jinnah applied the axe even though the execution was probably most painful to him. Sentiment had to give way to discipline.

I shall be forgiven for not revealing the name because it will not add to the interest of the painful incident. Besides, both the axer and the axed are no more in our midst.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah was gifted with a balanced temperament. He was neither as hot as fire for some person or cause one day nor was he as cold as a block of ice and indifferent, the next. But to say that he did not have a strong will would be to deny the truth.

One of the prominent traits in the Qaid-e-Azam's character was his trust and confidence. He either trusted one to the hilt or he did not. When he entertained the least suspicion, he moved cautiously and when he was convinced that the person was a bad egg, he struck his name off the list. This happened to more than one man and some were big personalities, having occupied or who were occupying at the time high positions under British Rule. If he were convinced that a person was a bad keeper of accounts or had a failing not to keep or render accounts for the money entrusted to him, out he went and not a rupee would be handed to him even for spending on vital and urgent propaganda. He would entrust the funds to someone else in the group and make him accountable for them. This frequently happened in the days when the Bengal Muslim League needed funds to expand its activities and to fight elections.

But when he trusted one, he did not falter unless disillusionment dawned upon him later. Even if the person so trusted did something that went wrong, he was neither chastised nor was he suspected of "selling the cause." He was charitable in his interpretation and did not impute motives. He used to say: "He erred in his judgement; he did not do it to undermine the League."

More than once when I went abroad for Muslim League and Pakistan propaganda, he told me that he had implicit trust in me and would put no limitation either on my activities or on my spending. Even on my ambassadorial assignment to the United States, when I requested him to give me precise directions or at least to tell me the extent to which I would be permitted to go, he brushed aside my

request saying: "I trust you and can rely on your judgement and reports. I know if you err, you would err in good faith."

It is worth recalling a few events at the time of my assignment to the United States. I was a little hesitant to go abroad having been out of the country on Muslim League duty³. He heard my reason and said: "Orders are orders, and like a good soldier you cannot think twice. You must go." And I obeyed.

I shall narrate just one more incident which brings to the fore some other facets of the Qaid's character:

I had been a past Deputy Mayor and was at the time leader of the Muslim League Party in the Calcutta Corporation when my Party unanimously nominated me as its candidate for the Mayoralty for the year commencing April 1, 1946.

After my nomination, as member of the Working Committee I was summoned to Delhi on March 22 as the Cabinet Mission was to arrive there on March 24. I left Calcutta after having given the assurance that I would return, even if it be for a day, to attend the first meeting of the Corporation for the year. While I was busy with the Working Committee meetings, I received intimation from Abdur Rahman Siddiqi that after I had left Calcutta, Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy had called a meeting of the Councillors of the Corporation (it may be noted that he was not a member of the Corporation) and had the decision of the members reversed in favour of an unknown schoolmaster in Zakaria Street, called Mohammed Osman, a Bihari by origin. I was distressed that a man of Suhrawardy's stature should have acted in this fashion and, particularly, in my absence. However, I did not tell the Qaid what had happened in Calcutta and went back to be present at the first meeting of the Corporation in which Mohammed Osman was elected Mayor. As a disciplined man I accepted the reversed decision engineered by Suhrawardy, without argument or rancour.

When I returned, Qaid-e-Azam had moved to Simla. On the day of my return, he asked me to lunch and when I arrived at his

³ He sent me to the *Herald Tribune* Forum in October 1946 to present the case of Muslim India and thereafter ordered me to tour the USA and the Continent explaining the Muslim demand for Pakistan. A couple of months later, he made me lead a trade delegation sponsored by Government of India to the Middle East where my team of Muslim young men did great work for Pakistan which became a reality on August 14, 1947.

house, he welcomed me in the following terms: "Hello, Mr. Mayor! Welcome back and congratulations." At table I told him that his felicitations were out of place because I was not the Mayor. Truly, his expression showed shock. "How come this?", he said. I did not reply. After a moment's reflection he simply said— "Suhrawardy!" I then said: "Yes, Suhrawardy." "Tell me what happened?" was the next question at the table. So I narrated to him how Suhrawardy had, in my absence, for reasons of his own leadership, sabotaged the first decision of the Muslim League Councillors and Alderman and had substituted his own candidate and had worked hard to secure for him a majority of votes. All that he said thereafter was, "Yes; do not mind, my boy". My reply was as brief, "Certainly, I do not."

Since then, I noticed that whenever opportunity offered, he entrusted me with responsible missions particularly outside the country. It was done, perhaps, to indirectly express his confidence in me and to show it to the people, and among them, of course, Suhrawardy.

I have narrated this story because the follow-up is interesting.

In 1946, as I have recorded elsewhere in these pages, Suhrawardy, who was a member of Khwaja Nazimuddin's Cabinet and was much encouraged by the latter for his hard work and brilliance, scuttled his leader's ship to launch his own as Prime Minister of Bengal. Nazimuddin, as I have stated previously, withdrew from political activity and declined to seek election to the Legislature because he did not want two factions to be created in the Muslim League, which would certainly have weakened it against the Opposition. But, in a year's time after he quit office, the Muslim League Party in the Bengal Legislature realised the mistake it had committed and the East Pakistan section of the Party elected Khwaja Nazimuddin as its leader in preference to Mr. Suhrawardy. At Partition, Nazimuddin retook the reins of office which had been snatched from his hands by his own colleague in the Cabinet. Thereafter, Suhrawardy found himself high and dry, with no post in the Provincial or Central Government.

When I met Suhrawardy at a dinner given by Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah in Karachi early in August, 1947, he took me to the verandah after dinner and said in a mournful tone that after all the years of service of the Muslims, he was now out of everything and had to look for some sort of employment to keep himself active. I

was so touched that I decided to see Qaid-e-Azam and talk to him about Suhrawardy, which I did a day or two later.

When I spoke to the Qaid-e-Azam and pleaded with him that a man of Suhrawardy's intelligence and capability should not be left out and that his inclusion would give us added strength which we so sorely needed, he looked into my eyes with surprise and said: "What! Hassan coming to me and asking me to do something for Suhrawardy? And that too after what he has been doing to you all these years?" In a subdued tone, I said: "Yes, sir. Hassan is only one out of ninety odd millions. He does not matter. What matters is our country, Pakistan. I appeal to you to utilise his intelligence and services in some manner or form." He again said, "Do you really mean it?" I replied, "Yes, sir, I do". He threw his head back and thought for a while and then said: "Well, I think I can do something. I am willing to send him out as my Personal Representative to the Muslim and Middle Eastern countries to explain Pakistan so that they really understand us better. He will be given the rank of Ambassador, of course." When I pleaded that his services should be utilised in the country, his answer was: "It is not possible. Nazimuddin today enjoys the confidence of Bengal and if I include Suhrawardy in my Cabinet, it would be tantamount to expressing no-confidence in Nazimuddin and this, you will agree, would not be the correct thing". I replied that he could easily get round Khwaja Saheb and have him accept Suhrawardy as one of the Ministers of Bengal in the Central Cabinet. His reply was that it would not be possible right away but that after the dust of the controversy and rivalry settled down, which would take at least six months, he would be able to include Suhrawardy in his Cabinet.

With this offer, I went to Calcutta in the third week of August to wind up my affairs and prepare myself for an early departure for Washington to assume charge of our Mission as ambassador. In Calcutta, I visited Suhrawardy one morning at his house at 40, Theatre Road and, as usual, found him lazing in bed. At that time, he was busy co-operating with Mr. Gandhi whose influence on the Hindus of India over the years had grown to be a legend. I asked him to get up and come to the verandah as I had something serious to talk. In five minutes he was on the verandah and I told him what I had been able to get out of the Qaid. He kept on insisting that unless he was appointed Minister first, he would not leave the country on any mission. I beseeched him not to be petty, to rise above self in the wider interest of the new nation we had created and to accept, without condition, the Qaid's offer. He point-blank refused and added, "I have decided

MORE ABOUT THE MEN

not to forsake my brother Muslims in Calcutta and to share their fate, whatever it may be." I asked him to think again and told him that he could have one or two days to think over the matter but his reply was categorical: "No. I have made up my mind." I told him that I would not carry his message, which contained certain terms, for the Qaid to accept because I was sure that they would be rejected. As I was leaving, I said: "Shaheed, you are making a grave mistake. You will be in Calcutta so long as it suits the Hindus. A time will come when you will be hounded out of the city and you will have to run for your life and take refuge in Pakistan but then it will be too late. The task for you will be an uphill one, whereas today it would be just easy sailing." As we were parting he said: "Well, I have told you my mind and I have nothing further to add. Goodbye." And so I left him.

On my return to Karachi, I saw the Qaid and told him how Suhrawardy insisted on first being appointed a Minister. The Qaid just shook his head and said: "That is finished. I am not prepared to accept terms and conditions from Suhrawardy".

Subsequent events showed that what I had anticipated did happen to Suhrawardy. He did take refuge in Pakistan.

I have narrated this story at some length to bring out some sterling human qualities of Mohammed Ali Jinnah. He reciprocated loyalty with loyalty; he was not revengeful; his magnanimity could, at the appropriate time, transcend all other considerations and he would help even those who once had served in their own way and were no longer in office due to their own indiscretions.

The Qaid-e-Azam was no master of languages. He did not profess to be one. He best expressed himself in English, and even in this language, the meticulous Don would have found some flaws. But what did it matter? He was gifted with a logical mind and clear thinking. He could grasp anything in a flash and was able to convey his thoughts in a few words and clearly. His vision, particularly in matters legal and political, was penetrating. He possessed the gift of seeing problems and questions and their implications ahead and further than anyone I have known. And it was this rare attribute which made him not only a great advocate but also a force to contend with in his political leadership. And the combination of the best Hindu brains of the time which was pitted against this sole being knew and felt this best of all.

Great as he was, he knew his limitations. When his admirers exceeded the bounds of admiration and called him Amir-ul-Momenin (the King of the Believers), a title given to Caliphs, for they were the spiritual and political heads of Muslim Society, he would say: "Please do not call me this. I do not profess to be your religious and spiritual guide or leader. I am your political leader and no more". Likewise, when he was expected to do something for which he was not qualified, he would not hesitate to declare his inability.

As a patient, he must have been difficult always. He certainly was in the latter years of his life. Frail as he was, his mind and body were over-active. He could not rest in bed even when he was ill, and was often difficult in carrying out his doctor's orders. I shall cite one instance in illustration.

When he lay on what was to be his death bed in Ziarat, he was surrounded by mounds of files. When asked what they were, he told me that most of them were from the Ministry of States, and he was incharge of that portfolio. When I appealed to him to forget the files and take complete rest to help his body to fight his illness, he replied that paper work did not hurt him. He had to attend to urgent matters of the Ministry. It was his responsibility and the people of Pakistan knew it. He had to serve them. When I saw his special physician, Dr. Elahi Baksh, in the evening, I told him that he should not permit the Qaid to dissipate his energy in a work which could easily be taken care of by others. He replied that his was an obstinate patient who would not listen to his advice and that he had done his best to keep the files and the Secretary away from his room and had failed. He had, therefore, to reconcile himself with the great man's reactions and behaviour.

Allah had bestowed many gifts upon our great leader. His integrity, ability and capacity for work and negotiation, so well known, were only some of them. But to say that he was a near-perfect man from all points of view would not be correct, and a statement he would have himself refuted.

By and large, he was a serious-minded person and there was no frivolity about him. He, nevertheless, enjoyed witticism on the right occasion and laughed with others. Sometimes, at the dining table he related interesting stories and anecdotes which were enjoyed by those present. But this was not too often. And again, in the last fifteen years of his life, he had forgotten, that is if he knew before, the meaning of relaxation. He drove himself harder and harder as he grew older and weaker.

Besides being a lawyer of high reputation and one of the half-dozen top practitioners of his time in India, he was a shrewd businessman. Throughout his life, the investments he made were, largely, judicious and sound and through this gift and acumen, he increased his wealth considerably. Most of the shares he held appreciated four, five and many more times on their original price. So did his investments in property. If he bought anything, after his early years of struggle for a living, he purchased the best. His house was always spotlessly clean, tidy and well-maintained. It was a real pleasure to visit it.

Qaid-e-Azam rarely enjoyed rest. He worked hard and after 1942, he literally did not spare himself but drove himself to death. Writing to me from Srinagar on May 20, 1944, he stated: "I feel very much better already from the change and rest even within a few days of my arrival here. This is the first holiday that I am taking after seven years of very strenuous work and it is necessary for me and I hope to remain here as long as it is possible for me to do so...." For the first time, this letter ended with the words "Yours very sincerely". His normal ending of a letter was just "Yours sincerely". This change was most welcome to me because it indicated that I had moved closer by virtue of my devotion to him.

Even when ill or on a holiday, he would not cut himself away from work and take complete rest. The above quoted letter is an illustration. Again on April 15, 1945, before leaving for Matheran for a spell of rest, he wrote: "This is just to inform you that I feel much better now, and I am leaving Bombay for Matheran which is a nearby hill station in a couple of days and shall remain there till the first week of June. My address will be Readymoney House, Matheran, and, of course, as usual you will keep me informed of any development that may take place in Bengal. Although I am not on the active list for the moment yet I cannot remain completely indifferent to anything of importance that may happen...."

It will be noted in the two concluding sentences of the letter quoted above that there was an element of restlessness in his character to drive on hard until the object was reached, however hard the path and difficult the task. The word 'procrastination' had no place in the dictionary of his active life. He decided quickly and acted speedily on his decision. He wanted those with whom he had dealings to do likewise.

One evening, after the day's work was done, sitting on the verandah of my Calcutta home, he told me of the advice which he

received from the Aga Khan when both were young men. He added that he had benefited largely from the wisdom the advice contained. The advice was that that no one should ever refuse to see anyone, however much he disliked him or differed with his views. "Jinnah", the Aga Khan told him, "you should not refuse to meet even the devil himself if he wants to see you. Hear him. It is not necessary for you to accept his views or advice. You never know, he may have something to say which may be good for you or may be excellent advice and guidance". "Therefore", Mr. Jinnah told me, "you too should adopt this policy. It should be one of the golden rules of your life". I accepted this advice and am all the better for it. It has paid me handsomely.

An impression was created, through subtle propaganda by interests inimical to Muslim progress and independence, that Mohammad Ali Jinnah was not a people's man and that he was bubbling with conceit—a shortcoming unpardonable in a political leader. We heard it oft repeated in diverse ways that the limit of his arrogance and conceit was demonstrated by his refusal to call on Mr. Gandhi and to discuss political matters with him at his residence and that Mr. Gandhi had to visit Mr. Jinnah every time.

This, of course, was incorrect and if anyone tried to defend Mr. Jinnah, he was ridiculed. I am, indeed, happy to learn from Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas's testimony that the propaganda had not a shred of truth. I shall let Mr. Kanji Dwarkadas express himself on the subject:

"One complaint against Jinnah was that he was too proud and arrogant to go and see Gandhiji at the latter's residence and insisted on Gandhiji going to see him. This was not true in the early years of their political friendship inspite of serious differences of opinion. But Jinnah explained to me why he stopped going to see Gandhiji and instead requested him to come and see him. This is, he explained, what happened. Hardly was he with Gandhiji than one after one his secretaries and associates came in and interrupted the conversation on all kinds of flimsy excuses—articles had to be revised, papers were to be corrected immediately, a young daughter-in-law had come to see him complaining against ill-treatment by her mother-in-law, etc., etc., and no proper discussion could take place. Jinnah complained to Gandhiji that if the latter's colleagues did not like Jinnah coming down for frank talks, he would not any more come to Gandhiji's house, and Gandhiji's accepting Jinnah's just grievance readily agreed."⁴

"Politics is a game of chess. It calls for cool thinking and planning. There is no room for emotion or for plunging into a reckless resolve

⁴Kanji Dwarkadas: *India's Fight for Freedom*, Bombay, 1966.

Every point, for and against, has to be weighed patiently and the leader has to see ten moves ahead". These words and words to the same effect, I have heard him utter more than once. I narrate an incident which may be of interest as it relates to his reaction on the subject of politics.

When in 1946 I accompanied him on his tour of Bengal and Assam, the President of the Assam Provincial Muslim League, the now famous Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan Bhashani of East Pakistan, called on him at Sylhet. Reporting the activities of the Muslim League in Assam and assuring the Qaid of the fullest support of Muslims in the struggle for Pakistan, he narrated with emotion the sufferings of our brethren in some parts of Assam as a result of Hindu injustice and persecution and their persistent effort to push Muslims out of Assam and Sylhet into East Bengal, weeping bitterly as he spoke. The Maulana's sincerity impressed me and I was so moved that I had to suppress my tears to keep my eyes dry.

The same evening when the rush of visitors had ended and the Qaid was alone in his room, I went in to speak to him before dinner. I referred to the conversation with Bhashani at noon and told him how deeply I was impressed by the sincerity of the Provincial President, adding that if we had more active and enthusiastic Presidents like the Maulana in the other Provinces of India, men who were willing to suffer and make sacrifices for the cause and not work for personal benefit or aggrandisement, the Muslim League would, indeed, be a stronger and much more active political organisation.

He told me that he did not agree with my opinion of the Maulana. He thought that men like him were not fit to be leaders and could not be relied upon to deliver the goods. "Sentimental nonsense and emotion have no place in politics", he said. "Politics, my boy, is a game of chess and evils cannot be cured by tears but only by hard work, courage and determination. The tap of emotionalism is easy to turn on and not so easy to turn off. With emotion, a rational policy might become the first casualty".

"This man", he added, "may be a good preacher and may draw tears from his audience but he is not a good leader, particularly in times of crisis when the head has to be kept cool and the eyes dry to see clearly and to arrive at decisions".

He ended by saying that he did not consider the Maulana fit to be President of a political organisation like the Muslim League and

the sooner the League freed itself of his leadership and of men of his temperament, the better would it be.

I made a note of this conversation, not merely because it gave me an insight into the workings of the Qaid-e-Azam's mind but also because it reflected his views on the qualities which a good and sound political leader should possess.

In regard to women and their role, he advocated greater freedom to them and encouragement to do social work and to take an interest in affairs outside the confines of their homes, when they were able to find time without dereliction or neglect of their domestic duties and responsibility for their children. What he preached, he practised with equal sincerity. His sister, Miss Fatima Jinnah, accompanied him to most of the public meetings and was seated near him on the dais. He encouraged ladies to come out and serve the people and to organise their sisters to enable them to play their role in the national life outside the confines of their own homes. He believed that for progress it was necessary for both men and women to contribute their full share for society's weal. Women were not overlooked by him when constituting his Working Committees. Begum Mohamed Ali, widow of Maulana Mohamed Ali Jauhar, was a member of this Committee for several years until 28th March 1947 when death stole from her the pleasure of witnessing the establishment of a Muslim homeland in our sub-continent.

The Qaid, on every appropriate occasion, emphasised that students should not participate in active politics. If keenly interested, their interest should be academic only. They should observe and study the political events and developments around them and equip and qualify themselves to play their part when they had finally finished their studies. It was his conviction that active participation in politics distracted the minds and energies of students, whose main responsibility to their parents, themselves and to society was to give undivided attention to their studies and to qualify for a profession. The Qaid considered it necessary for young men to have a means of livelihood and to ensure their future. Only when they had established themselves in life should they take the plunge into the ocean of politics. To adopt politics as a profession, particularly during the early years of their lives was, in his opinion, not only inadvisable but detrimental to their long-term interests.

However, with equal sincerity he advised that students, male and female, should maintain an active interest in the political develop-

ments of their country and also in international affairs, as such interest would increase their general knowledge and keep them informed of the problems facing their people and the methods contemplated or adopted for meeting and solving them. He would say: "There is plenty to do for young men and women before they enter the political arena. They should first finish their studies and establish themselves on a sound economic footing before they think of participating actively in the political life of the country". Only when the struggle for Pakistan had reached fever heat and entered the final decisive stage calling for the support of every Muslim, young and old, did the Qaid-e-Azam deviate from his views regarding students' participation in politics and ask them to take part in the election campaign of 1945-46 and that too for only a few weeks.

The Qaid-e-Azam was a man of strict scruples and was meticulous in his accounting for the money he received from the public. Each time he appealed for funds on behalf of the Muslim League or in aid of disaster-stricken Muslims, he met with encouraging response from his co-religionists in the sub-continent. Cheques, large and small, and Money Orders of all dimensions, poured in. Each day the postman handed to his Secretary the amount he had brought to pay and, along with the money, was given a large bundle of receipt slips for signature. It would be difficult to believe that a person like the Qaid, who was a very busy man indeed, could find time to sign every receipt personally. It did not matter whether the receipt was for ten thousand rupees or for only four annas. He must have received thousands of remittances of under one rupee which he himself acknowledged. When it was suggested that he should delegate this work to someone else, he replied: "Certainly not. I must sign the receipts myself. To the poor fellow who sends me four annas, that sum must be what ten thousand rupees is to a wealthy man. To me the value of his four annas is as much as a donation of ten thousand rupees or even twenty thousand rupees. The poor man should know that I appreciate his response and value his contribution. Besides, when I sign a receipt, I know that I have gained one more sympathiser for our cause. What greater reward can I have from my own people than this joy? After all, signing a few hundred receipts will not hurt me. Support from the masses will give the League and me increased strength and it is this strength that we need to succeed in our struggle".

Even for donations, large and small, promised by persons, he would write personal letters to the Presidents of the Provincial Leagues concerned as well as to the individuals. I give below two letters by way of illustration:

23rd November, 1944

My dear Nishtar:

I am enclosing herewith two letters to the undermentioned gentlemen who had promised their contributions towards the All-India Muslim League Fund during the last session at Delhi:

Mian Mohkam Deen, Rs. 1000
C/o Sardar Aurangzeb Khan

Mulla Jan Mohamed, Rs. 250
C/o Sardar Aurangzeb Khan

I had sent reminders to them before, but perhaps for want of proper address they may not have reached them, and further, even if they did, unfortunately they have not sent in their promised cheques. I am therefore troubling you to take a personal interest in this matter, and if possible, get in touch with them after having despatched the enclosed letters to their respective addresses. Otherwise finally I shall have to announce that they have not fulfilled their promise, as I am responsible to the public for the realization of the contributions which have been announced publicly in the session.

Yours sincerely,
M.A. JINNAH

18th November 1944

Dear Sir:

You will remember that you were good enough to make your contribution* towards the All-India Muslim League Fund during the last session at Delhi, and it was announced at the time. I have not troubled you, hoping that you would send me the promised contribution as soon as possible, but a considerable time has now elapsed, and so I wish to remind you about it, as after all I am responsible for realising the donations that were publicly announced.

Hoping that you will kindly send me your cheque without any further delay, and thanking you,

Yours faithfully,
M.A. JINNAH

Mian Mohkam Deen,
C/o Sardar Aurangzeb Khan,
Premier,
Peshawar.

*Your promised contribution is Rs. 1000/-.



With Miss Fatima Jinnah being escorted to a Bombay Provincial Muslim League meeting.

By Courtesy of Mohatarama Fatima Jinnah

“No nation can rise to the height of glory unless your women are side by side with you. We are all victims of evil customs. It is a crime against humanity that our women are shut up within the four walls of the houses as prisoners. I do not mean that we should imitate the evils of the Western life. But let us try to raise the status of our women according to our own Islamic ideas and standards.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at Aligarh,
March 10, 1944.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah, rich as he was, was frugal. He was opposed to extravagance and vain display of wealth. As fortune smiled on him, he made the best of his life. He had an excellent home situated in the best locality, tastefully but not ostentatiously furnished. He dressed immaculately and his hospitality was always adequate, if not lavish. Yet, he did not believe in waste whether it was his money, the money of others or of the State. He would make it a point to switch off superfluous lights in his home and, if they were lit for him, in the home of his host. Even when he was Governor-General of Pakistan, staying at the house which now bears the name "President's House", he would switch off unwanted lights and would say: "It is a sin to waste money and worse if it be public money". I have seen him switch off unwanted lights in his home, in my house and in the Governor-General's House. It would be an excellent example for our *nouveau riche* to emulate and for our younger generation to follow. After all, there is nothing but undiluted truth in the age-old adage "Waste not, want not".

It is true that he was not too generous with his money in his life time. But the real liberality of his heart was revealed after his death.

I would cite an instance—not generally known—of his sublimated humanity. After his death, his will revealed that he had bequeathed a large sum of his hard-earned money for the good of the people. Out of this bequest, several educational and other institutions have received handsome donations. His humanity expressed itself in a form by which not some individuals but successive generations of people are benefiting. This is the highest form of charity, which in Islamic terminology is known as *Sadqae-Jaria* (continuous charity). It is a rare instance of a political leader practising such philanthropy for the well-being of the people in addition to his national and political services which by themselves have entitled him to their lasting gratitude.

From early youth, Mohammed Ali Jinnah possessed a wealth of self-confidence and determination and these two qualities plus ability and perseverance raised him to his later stature in public life.

One evening, when the day's political work was done, he and I sat on the south verandah of our Calcutta home, where a good portion of the revitalised Muslim League's history was written. He was in a happy mood as he had succeeded in getting the United Muslim Party of Bengal to agree to go into liquidation and to join the ranks of the All-India Muslim League, making it overnight the largest and most active political party of Bengal.

He spoke of his early days as a Barrister. It was a hard life. Day in and day out he waited for a brief to turn up but it did not. He was a new junior and too unknown to be taken notice of in a place like Bombay with so many solicitors who had their own young relations and friends to cater for. Mr. Jinnah was not blessed with such a godfather.

Touts used to approach him with the assurance that they would get him briefs for small cases if he fell in line with the accepted practice of giving them an agreed percentage of the fee. Although he was keen on getting started and earning a living, modest though it may be, his moral rectitude would not permit him to consider such overtures. "I felt that I would rather have starved than accept such solicitations and, by God, I was badly off!", he said.

He regularly visited the courts and went to his chamber hoping that some day his luck would change. It was at this time that some friends of the family wanted him to accept a permanent post as a Presidency Magistrate. He declined this advice but accepted a temporary post at Rs. 500/- a month as a magistrate in Bombay in 1900. He did not stay long at the post because the urge within him drove him back to his chamber and practice. Seeing him acquit himself rather well as a magistrate, the attention of lawyers and litigants was drawn towards him and before long, briefs came in.

Once he began to appear in court, his troubles started to recede. He conducted his cases so ably for a young man that his practice grew and there was no turning back for him. Through patience, hard work, industry and ability, he achieved success and fame in his profession.

His self-confidence was never shaken. He always was sure that, given the opportunity, he would make good. He did not want to serve on a salary, however tempting, and however exalted the position that was offered to him. He wanted to be independent and to be his own master.

It may be stated that the Qaid rarely, if ever, spoke of his childhood and youth with anyone I know of. He did not appear to be concerned with those days. From the time I had the privilege of becoming his political disciple, I observed that he had little time for unfruitful talk although with the ladies, when his day's work was done, he was a picture of politeness and grace. In his early middle age, fame as a lawyer, membership of the Imperial Legislative Council

AIMING AT ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

FEDERATION OF MUSLIM CHAMBERS OF COMMERCE

IT was in August 1943 when our leader spoke to me about forming a Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry. There was one Chamber, the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry, at Bombay, which was somewhat troublesome. It was in name an All-India body but its influence did not spread even to some of the larger trade bodies in Bombay itself. Sir Sultan Chinoy was its President. Mr. S. M. Jamil, who has now taken to the promotion of fairs and exhibitions in Karachi, was its young and ambitious Secretary. To avoid an open conflict between the Bombay body and ourselves who saw the need for establishing a real active All-India Muslim Chambers Federation at Delhi, I went to Bombay and negotiated a pact with Sir Sultan Chinoy. After returning to Calcutta I wrote to Mr. Jinnah on September 3, as under:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I reached here on the 1st instant after a very pleasant journey.

I am glad to inform you that the tentative agreement arrived at between Chinoy and myself has been approved of both by Sir Adamjee and my elder brother. The only snag is the Presidentship, but if vanity has to be satisfied in order that benefit may accrue to the Muslim nation no public-spirited, farsighted and selfless man should hesitate to satisfy such vanity.

The terms of the agreement are briefly as follows:

1. A meeting shall be convened in October/November 1943 at New Delhi for the purpose of forming the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry in India with a view to bring within its orbit all the existing Chambers, also to merge with it the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry, Bombay, so that there is one Federation for the whole of India;
2. Arrangements for the convening of this meeting shall be made by Mr. Hassan Ispahani and All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce, Bombay,

shall be invited; Sir Sultan Chinoy, the President of this Chamber undertakes to attend this meeting and co-operate;

3. A draft constitution for the proposed Federation which is being prepared at Calcutta and suitable portions of the constitution of the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry shall form the basis of discussion for evolving the constitution of the proposed Federation.

A copy of this draft constitution will be sent to Sir Sultan Chinoy in advance to enable him to make suggestions;

4. At the meeting at Delhi, Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood shall preside;

5. For the first year, Sir Sultan Chinoy's candidature for Presidentship shall be supported by both parties.

With kind regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Mr. Nurur Rahman, the very able and experienced Secretary of the Calcutta Muslim Chamber, was appointed as the Organising Secretary of the Federation. It was his task to organise the provincial Muslim Chambers where none existed and to bring them into the Federation. Existing Chambers too had to be affiliated to the Federation. This, of course, was not an easy task and it took seven months of touring, advising and organising by the Organising Secretary. On April 3, 1944, I wrote to the Qaid:

"....I have just now received a letter from Nurur Rahman, the Organising Secretary of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry, advising that the Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce have on the 29th ultimo written to him asking for affiliation. This is indeed very good news. Confidentially, news from Bombay is also good. The Chinoys have fallen out with Jamil, the Secretary of the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce of Bombay. They have resigned from that body and have thrown their weight into the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce where they propose to establish a majority and then apply for an affiliation to our Federation. The latest news is that these people including Sikandar Dehlavi and Habib Rahimtoola have obtained the necessary majority. Sultan Chinoy will be elected President and the Chamber will be affiliated to the Centre. There is an understanding with me and these people that our old undertaking holds good, that is to say, Sir Sultan Chinoy's candidature for the first Presidentship of the Federation will be backed by Calcutta. In view of all this, the prospects of getting on the way early are really bright. All this is extremely pleasing. Now our most difficult hurdle seems to be the getting of a place in a good locality where we can establish our Federation office. Without an office and a telephone, we shall not be able to render the service that our constituents will require of us.

AIMING AT ECONOMIC INDEPENDENCE

I shall be glad to know from you as to whether you have purchased the building in Daryaganj. If you have not, I shall be most grateful if you will please exercise your influence with Dalmia and secure for the Chamber two respectable and airy rooms in a good locality....."

On April 8, 1944, Mr. Jinnah wrote to me from New Delhi:

8th April 1944.

MA
My Dear Hassan,

I have received your letter of the 22nd of March at Lahore and also your letter of the 3rd of April on my arrival at Delhi. I do not think that there was any kind of misunderstanding, may be that the reporter did not quite catch me, but I certainly meant the "Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry" at Delhi. The Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce was waiting for my arrival and they have already after ~~the~~ discussing the matter with me, applied for affiliation to Delhi and I note from your letter of the 3rd that you have in fact received intimation from them and they will be affiliated in due course.

I think your latest news with regard to Bombay is correct but I am not sure that you should continue your old understanding. The real work was done by our people. I should suggest that Sir Adamjee should be the first President because he is the man, who represents really commerce and industry.

As regards your office in Delhi, Mr. Nurur Rehman had come to see me before I left for Lahore and I hope to see him again very soon and see what can be done but nothing definite has materialized so far in securing a building.

As regards the printing press and machinery, we must proceed at once to examine it. I think you do it or leave it to me and also send me the promised letter as soon as you receive it. The offer has been made to us and we shall accept it subject to examination of the machinery, and, therefore, the question of anybody else

chipping in does not arise. Any how I quite agree with you that we should keep the negotiation confidential. Therefore, please send me the letter as soon as possible and let me know whether I should proceed to examine the machinery and take delivery direct in which case I shall send competent man to examine it. Don't delay this matter and let me have your immediate instructions.

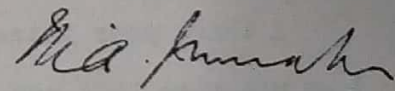
I am sorry Ahmed was not able to come, but I hope that he might from Lucknow drop in here for a day and I am really glad that he has agreed to serve on the Planning Committee. It will add to the prestige of the Committee and he will undoubtedly be one of the most valuable and helpful in serving the objects that we have at heart.

I am in Delhi according to my present programme till the 17th then I will have to go to Lahore and from there to Sialkot where the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference is meeting.

Hoping and praying that you are now alright. With very kind regards.

Yours sincerely,

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5, Camac Street,
Calcutta.

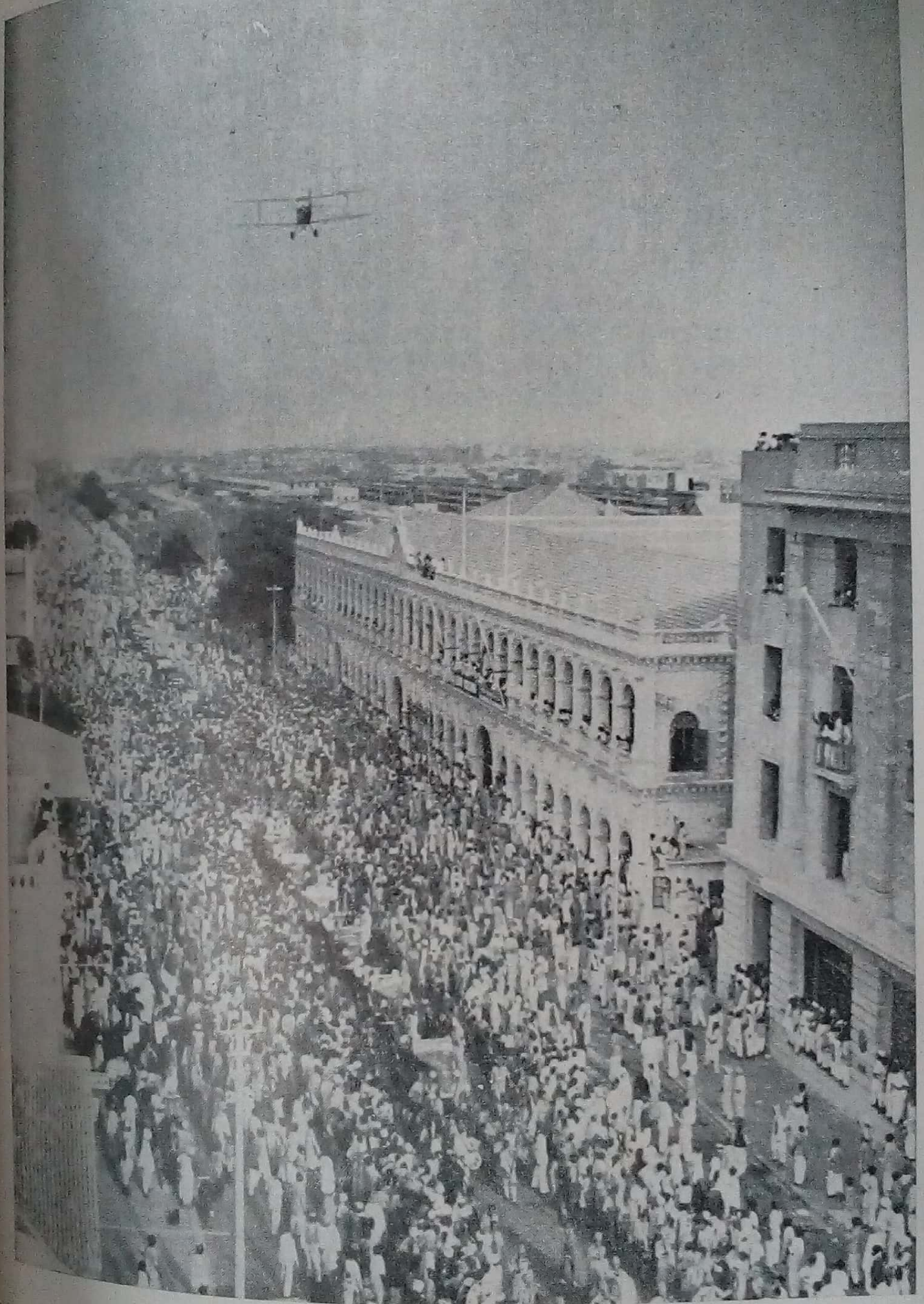


In my letter to him dated April 12, 1944, I wrote the following with reference to the Federation:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your letter of the 8th instant.

With regard to the Bombay news, I shall be only too glad not to have Sultan Chinoy as the first President of the Muslim Federation. You, however, remember that it was your advice that Calcutta should, in spite of the backing by Bombay out of its part of the undertaking, keep the Presidentship open for Chinoy if he came in. With this advice in mind, when I was last in Bombay I gave in to the proposal made by Habib Rahimtoola and Sikandar Delhavi regarding their capturing the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce and affiliating it to the Federation on the understanding that Sultan Chinoy, who has severed his connections with the All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry of Bombay, should be made the first President. If you are able to influence these youngsters who, I am told, will do anything



Welcome in McLeod Road, Karachi—1943

“Those of our brethren who are minorities in Hindustan may rest assured that we shall never neglect or forget them. Our hearts go out to them, and we shall consider no effort too great to help them and secure their well-being for I recognise that it is the Muslim minority provinces in the sub-continent who were the pioneers and carried the banner aloft for the achievement of our cherished goal of Pakistan. I shall never forget their support, nor I hope the majority of Muslim provinces in Pakistan will fail to appreciate that they were the pioneers in the vanguard of our historic and heroic struggle for the achievement of Pakistan which today is an accomplished fact.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Eid message, August
18, 1947.

that you order, then I will be only too glad to drop Sultan. You know my feelings for him since the trick he played on me on the eve of the last meeting at Delhi to form the Federation. I shall be glad to have your advice in the matter. I am sure you must have discussed the Federation with my brother Ahmad during his very short stay with you in Delhi...

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Again on April 17, 1944, I addressed my leader, who was at New Delhi, as under:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

In continuation of my last lines on the Federation of Muslim Chamber of Commerce & Industry, I am enclosing copy of letter from Sikandar Dehlavi received by me this morning. I await your guidance in the matter. Can Sir Sultan Chinoy be left out without breaking the gentlemen's agreement arrived at between Sikandar, Habib and myself when I was last in Bombay?

I am also enclosing a copy of letter received this morning, from Ghulam Mohamed.¹ I have thrust my neck in the lion's den. It seems that I am in for trouble with my good friends.

The world is full of worries.

I wish you success in your mission in the Punjab.

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

From "Kooshik", near Nishat in Srinagar, he replied on May 20, 1944:

22 JUN 1944
opened on return from
Srinagar
(MA)

"Kooshik", Near Nishat,
Srinagar, Kashmir,
20th May, 1944.

My dear Hassan,

I have received all your letters, and I thank you for them, and let me deal with them all, as I have got now at last some breathing time.

First, with regard to the Punjab, I think the situation has been made quite clear and the issue has been crystallized. It is

¹ Later Finance Minister of Pakistan and, thereafter, Governor-General of Pakistan.

now up to us to organize thoroughly and most efficiently the Muslim League in the Punjab. I have noted the information you have given me about the election of the Aldermen to the Calcutta Corporation, and it must be a matter of great satisfaction to you that you have been so successful, and I share in your joy.

As regards the printing machinery, while I thank you for meeting my wishes to secure it for "Dawn", unfortunately my information from our people is that the composing machines are capable of working only by gas, and so they will be of no use to us in Delhi, as they are fitted with gaspots and can only be utilized in Bombay or in Calcutta. I am sending you herewith a copy of the full report from Joseph and our Manager, Mahmood Hasan, for your information. In these circumstances, you might now deal with the Hyderabad Government in such a manner as you may think best for your own purpose.

With regard to the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, no doubt that the success was not due to the reasonableness on the part of our opponents, but it was due to the fact that the Muslim Leaguers and others rose to the occasion and made a terrific effort, and hence the result that you see. The Bombay Chamber should in the ordinary course be first affiliated to the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry.

As regards your question, "Can Sir Sultan Chinoy be left out without breaking the gentlemen's agreement arrived at between Sikandar, Habib and myself when I was last in Bombay?", I do not exactly know what the agreement was. Evidently Habib now is the acknowledged leader, and it would seem rather extraordinary that Sir Sultan Chinoy, who is merely a member of the Bombay Chamber, should be lifted up. I do not understand what is meant by Mr. Sikandar Dehlavi when he says "I do not know whether Sir Sultan's election to the proposed office of the Federated Chamber will be subsequent to the official affiliation of the Bombay Chamber". Until I am in possession of full facts, it is very difficult for me to express any definite opinion. I may tell you here that Habib Rahimtoola saw me here a couple of days

ago, and from the conversation I had with him there does not seem to be any obligation on the part of anyone that Sir Sultan Chinoy should be elected the first President of the Muslim Federation, and in the event of there being a feeling between Calcutta and Bombay, you might fix on somebody belonging to some other province this year, and after all the term of the President is only for one year.

I feel very much better already from the change and rest even within a few days here. This is the first holiday that I am taking after 7 years of very strenuous work, and it is necessary for me, and I hope to remain here as long as it is possible for me to do so.

Hoping you are quite fit now, and with very kind regards from Miss Jinnah and myself,

Yours very sincerely,

Miss Jinnah

Hassan Ispahani, Esq.,
5, Camac Street,
CALCUTTA.

Our troubles were slowly but surely blowing over and things were looking bright and cheerful. Bombay's front was crumbling. Our League young men there had turned the tables on Sir Sultan and his coterie and the said Chamber had been captured by our soldiers. I wrote to Mr. Jinnah on October 24, 1944, as under:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I am glad to inform you that with the affiliation of the Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce, the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry at Delhi has now grown into a robust and representative organisation of the Muslim merchants and industrialists of India. As I have advised you, I propose to hold the First General Meeting of the Federation in the fourth week of November or the first week of December, 1944.

Concurring with my elder brother's advice, I approached Sir Adamjee this afternoon and requested him to accept the first Presidentship of the Federation. My appeals and entreaties bore no fruit. He kept on declining the honour on grounds of ill health, age and inability to travel to Delhi every now and again. I assured him that I would work as his Secretary right through his tenure of office and reduce his worries and responsibilities

to the minimum. He still declined and told me that if he is to be pleased, my brother should shoulder the responsibility and no one else, and he was strongly of the opinion that unless there was someone at the helm to navigate the ship of the Federation on its launching with the capacity and drive of my brother, the organisation would founder. He kept on insisting that my brother will have to accept the Presidentship. I told him that my brother would not accept the honour at least for the reason that there will be many tongues that will wag to discredit the Federation. Its opponents, right through the last eighteen months, have been saying that Ispahanis have been working for the establishment of the Federation and spending large sums of money in that direction because they want to capture it and to use it to further their own interests. He would not like people to feel that this propaganda was justified and proven to be true. Further, he is over-burdened with responsibility and work and cannot shoulder a straw more.

My brother is seeing Sir Adamjee this evening and will again request him to accept the responsibility. I have failed. I hope he will succeed. I shall keep you advised of the result.

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

On April 15, 1945, I received from Mr. Jinnah a full charge blast from Bombay. He had apparently grown weary of waiting for the inaugural meeting of the Federation. He wrote:

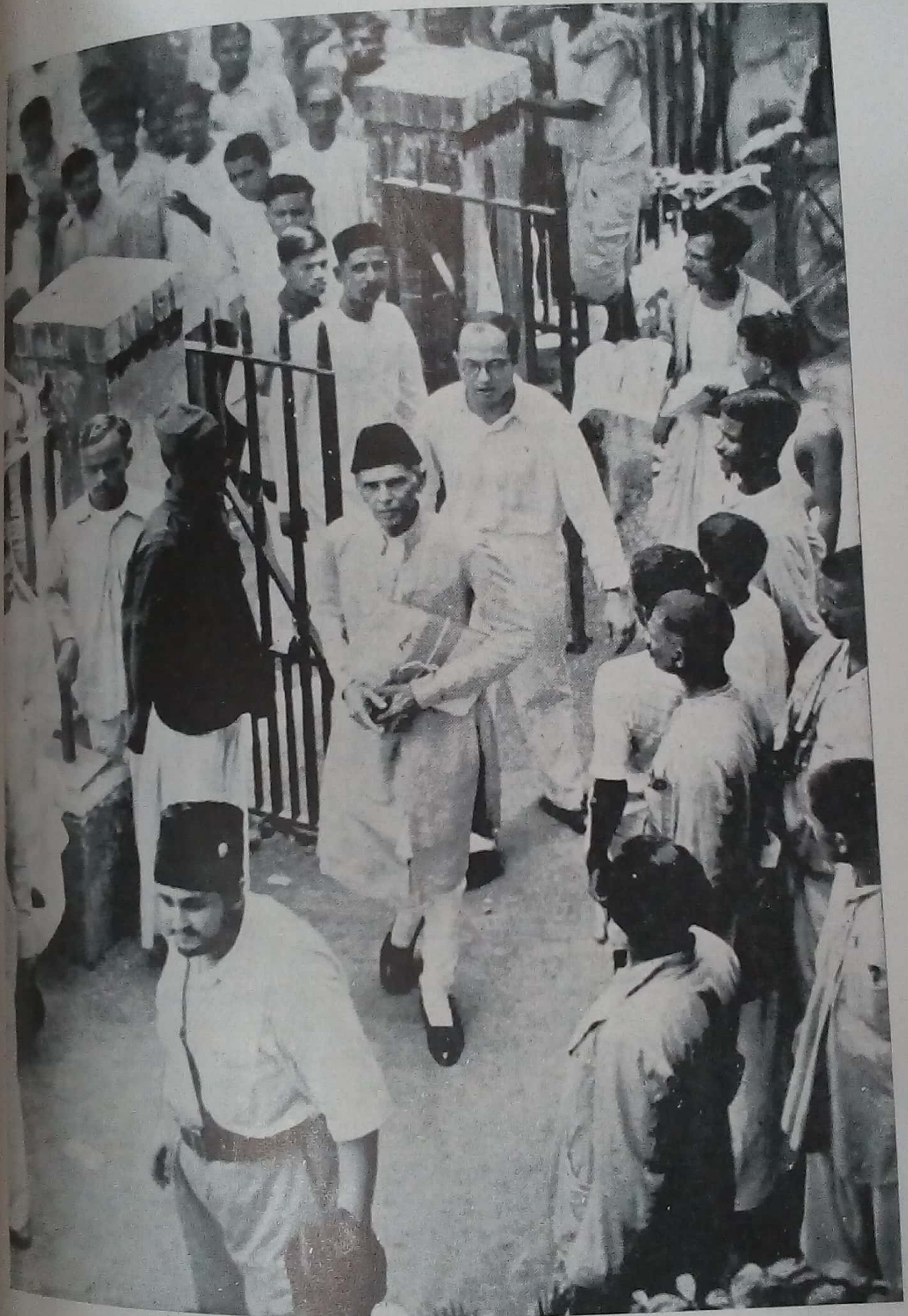
My dear Hassan:

....Have you been sleeping over the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce, and is it merely to remain a paper scheme? I am very much disappointed indeed that so much delay has been caused in holding even your first meeting. We are losing very valuable time and a golden opportunity. Every week that passes is now not only creating a sense of frustration and despair amongst those who have worked and are willing and ready to work, but in the rapid developments that are taking place, Muslim India will unfortunately find itself as usual with the motto "Too Late". I spoke to Ahmad and I was assured that everything was ready, and this was as far back as November last. It seems to me that your Secretary in Delhi is incompetent, and unless you wake up and ginger up things, the business and commercial Muslim India will suffer very seriously.

Yours sincerely,

M.A. JINNAH

His anxiety in regard to the Federation when he received my letter of April 24, from which I shall quote the relevant portion, must have been relieved.



Qaid-e-Azam between Nawabzada Nasrulla and myself on way to attend a public meeting at Calcutta—1945

By courtesy of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah

Now I am to the Congress King Charles' head and am on their list as criminal number one. I shall face my trial if it ever comes. But believe me I shall never fail to do my duty towards my people.

Qaid-e-Azam: Address to students of Islamia College, Peshawar—
28 November, 1945.

Dear Mr. Jinnah:

I left for Delhi on the 17th instant with the Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce Delegation which was headed by Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood. We reached Delhi very late on the 18th night, and after a conference that lasted till well past 1 a.m. we turned up at the YMCA Hall at 10.30 a.m. to attend the first annual meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce & Industry. The meeting was not spectacular because no outsider was invited but was nevertheless a grand success. Every province barring the Central Province Chamber was represented and the Baluchistan Chamber telegraphed wishing the Federation unqualified success and regretting their inability to participate this time.

We sat down to business straightway and with a break of two and a half hours for lucheon, went on till well after 8 p.m. Next day our meeting commenced at 10 a.m. and continued till luncheon time. Every one was most business-like. Superfluous speeches and unnecessary arguments were cut out. We worked with speed. The Memorandum and Articles of Association were gone through clause by clause and amended, where necessary. Then the whole of the constitution was put to the body and carried unanimously. Some resolutions of importance were also passed. The speeches were brief, effective and to the point. The first President is, as you know by now, Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood. The list of other office-bearers was also released to the press at a Press Conference held two hours after the termination of our first meeting.

We are still smarting under one great disability and that is, lack of accommodation to house the office of the Federation. Money has been found and efforts have not been lacking for the last twenty months. Unfortunately, nothing has come out of all this. No source has been left untapped and no person of influence has been left unapproached. We have had to labour under many difficulties and shortcomings right through from the start. God has been most merciful to us. With His help we have surmounted all these difficulties and we pray that before long He will help us out of this last one. Nurur Rahman has been told to go full speed ahead. I have no doubt that he will do so.

The first meeting was delayed due to Sir Adamjee's inability to leave Calcutta earlier as his son was away in Australia. I saw Liaquat Ali and he assured the representation of the Federation in the Central Committees will come as a matter of course now that the Government of India know that it has passed the organising stage and has a constitution and office-bearers to conduct its affairs.

I hope the report given above will give you satisfaction and you will not feel that we have been idling or sleeping. Believe me, I have put in a devil of a lot of work for the Federation and every member of the Committee is now determined to see that the Federation goes from strength to strength. Before I left Delhi I made it clear to Nurur Rahman that work must proceed with clock-work regularity and with the speed of lightning. He gave me the solemn undertaking that he was now in a position to carry out the command of the Committee and could not make any progress so long as the

first meeting was not held, because he had no status whatsoever in official eyes as an Organising Secretary—the Secretary of a body that was to come into existence at an unknown and future date.....

Yours sincerely,

HASSAN

From Matheran where the great leader was taking much-needed rest, he wrote on May 6, 1945, thus:

Dear Hassan:

I have received your letter of 24th April and read the account of the successful meeting of the Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce. I hope that you people realise the urgency and the importance of Muslim India making every effort to make up the leeway. What we now want is selfless workers and deeds and not mere words and thoughts and speeches.

I read the account of the meeting in the Press, but I regret that it was not properly managed and for some reason or the other, it did not get the Press as it ought to have, having regard to its importance. Anyhow, I am glad that now that the matter is put on a proper and constitutional basis, I hope the Secretary Nurur Rahman will wake up and be as active as it is possible to do so. I know it is difficult to get in Delhi any accommodation, but let me tell you that lots of people have secured accommodation long after your Secretary was hunting for it, and quite good accommodation too....

Yours sincerely,

M.A. JINNAH

Getting suitable accommodation for the Federation at Delhi continued to present an insurmountable problem, notwithstanding Mr. Jinnah's view, to which I did not subscribe, that it was lack of effort on our part that was responsible for not finding a suitable office. I wrote to him on May 11:

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your letter of the 6th instant.

All the news agency representatives were collected by Sri Kishen at the Imperial Hotel and copies of the President's speech, resolutions and proceedings of the meeting were given to them. If the Hindu agencies and press, as is their habit, black out Muslim activities, what can we do? These are the difficulties that our nation has to face all along the line.

With regard to the renting of a suitable place for the Federation, we have done our best and are still faithfully at it. I have applied to everyone

known to me, big and small, to help us. Nawabzada was requested three times. When I approached him again yesterday, he swore that he had tried his best and had failed. I am at Nurur Rahman twice a week. He is hopeful of getting a place this summer. Such hopes were given before only to remain unfulfilled....

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

On May 14, he wrote from Matheran:

My dear Hassan:

....I hope you are better. I have received a very encouraging letter from Sir Adamjee, assuring me that he will do his very best to translate the policy of the Federation of the Muslim Chambers of Commerce, which is on paper, in practice, and he will do all he can to work in every way it is possible for him to do so. I hope you people will get together and be up and doing.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M.A. JINNAH

Our correspondence on the establishment of the Federation came to a close after my letter to him of May 18, 1945, which carried the following lines:

"Since writing this letter I have received your letter of the 14th instant for which please accept my thanks. I cannot say that I am better, but I do not feel any worse. I too assure you that everything will be done by me to see that the promise made by us to you in regard to the Muslim Federation is fully carried out.

The first meeting of the Committee of the Muslim Federation will be held in Calcutta on the 31st instant".

The All-India Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, whose duty, like all Federations of Chambers was to co-ordinate their members' activities and make representations and demands to and from the Central Government of India at Delhi on behalf of its members and to protect and promote their interest in the field of Commerce and Industry, was truly and firmly established bringing the number of existing Federations in British India to three, namely, the British Federation, the Indian Federation and the Muslim Federation. So Mr. Jinnah had once more fulfilled his desire. He gave the Muslims one more instrument of unity and commercial and

industrial strength which was so necessary for achieving independence and thereafter, for running the affairs of the homeland which by the grace of Allah was to be ours.

ORIENT AIRWAYS WHICH LATER BECAME P.I.A.

Despite the hectic all-absorbing political activity the work of nation-building continued to receive the Qaid's attention and it was during these months of political turmoil that Orient Airways was created.

When I was in Delhi in June 1946 on one of my routine visits and was lunching with the Qaid-e-Azam at his home, 10, Aurangzeb Road, and discussing provincial and national politics, he cut me short and said: "It is all very well to talk of Muslims as a nation and to demand a separate homeland for them, a homeland in which they can live according to their own light and shape their own destiny, but do you realise that such a State would be useless if we did not have the men, the material and the wherewithal to run it? Do you realise that in India there is not a single airline which is owned or operated by Muslims? You should know how many such lines are owned, financed and manned by Hindus. Do you know how many Muslim pilots and mechanics we have in the country? How can we do anything with this inadequacy of material—material which every nation must have in ample supply?"

He was emphasising a fact. I replied that he was right. He stood up and with the characteristic gesture of his hand, which his political disciples cannot forget, said: "What is the use of admitting all this?"

I tried to submit that the starting of an airline was a big undertaking; that it would cost a packet of money and it would have to face much opposition from vested interests, particularly Hindus, before the new company, owned, financed and operated by Muslims, as he envisaged, would be allowed to operate.

He replied that we should trust in God, have faith in our cause and go ahead. He, as a "poor man", would purchase shares in the company to prove that he backed his idea with financial participation. He asked me to discuss the matter with Sir Adamjee and my brother Mirza Ahmad at Calcutta and to get busy with the task of starting an airline without loss of time, as there was little time to lose.

When these two gentlemen were told that it was the Qaid-e-Azam's order that something should be done, they did not ask for time. We set to work on the floatation of the Orient Airways. The Orient Airways was not only the first and only Muslim airline operated in pre-Partition India but possibly the first all-Muslim public company of its kind in the commercial and industrial history of India. Shares valued at one crore were bought by Muslims from every corner of the sub-continent; some bought scrips for substantial amounts, and there were others with limited means who were happy to have just one share worth Rs. 25/- or Rs. 5/-. Poor as they were, they wanted to have the honour of participating in a Muslim undertaking which had the blessings and support of the Qaid-e-Azam.

After the Company was registered, four converted Dakotas were purchased in USA in 1946 from TEMCO of Texas. We paid, if I remember aright, 75,000 (US\$) per piece. When I visited the United States later the same year in connection with my participation in the *Herald Tribune* Forum where I had the honour of presenting the case of Muslim India, I negotiated the purchase of three Convair 240's from Consolidated Vultee. These aircraft were modern, had twice the number of seats as the Dakotas and were faster by at least 140 miles per hour. The Convairs were delivered during the year 1949. After trouble from the established Lines, which did not welcome a newcomer, the Company obtained permission to operate the Calcutta-Rangoon service as from June 10, 1947. The Government of India's Director-General of Civil Aviation, on one pretext or the other, kept delaying the consideration of our application. Even when we were ready to commence our service to Rangoon, we had to stand by and meet the heavy establishment expenses of the airline for three months before permission was granted by New Delhi to commence operations.

On February 5, 1947, I reported to the Qaid-e-Azam on the progress of our airline undertaking as follows:

"Our four aircraft are expected to touch Karachi tomorrow. A week's delay has been caused en route due to some red-tape trouble in Natal (North of South America). At the time of writing, these aeroplanes are somewhere in Iraq.

The organisation is now complete—ready to start operation. We shall be writing to the Chairman, Air Licensing Board, to send his representative to check our planes and organisation prior to granting us necessary licence to operate on an air route. I suppose all this will take a week to complete".

On February 19, he wrote:

"I have already sent in my application with a cheque for Rs. 25,000/- for the shares that I have applied for in the Orient Airways but I have not yet heard anything from the Company".

On February 28, I wrote to him reporting on the political situation in Bengal and added a para in connection with Orient Airways, which read:

"...Your application for shares in the Orient Airways was received four days ago and the receipt was airmailed to you yesterday. No sooner allotment is made, the necessary letter will be sent and within a few days it will be exchanged for the scrips of the Company....."

The base of the Orient Airways was at Calcutta. Compared with its successor, the PIA today, it was a modest undertaking without, of course, government backing or financing. After Partition, Orient Airways transferred its main base to Karachi and operated without a day's break its services until it was absorbed by the new corporation, the PIA. It was the Orient Airways which rendered yeoman service during the disturbances which followed Partition. It brought Muslim refugees from India and flew out Hindus from Pakistan. Had it not been for the Orient Airways, there would not have existed an air link between East and West Pakistan for a long time after Partition. These great services the Company was privileged to render because it existed, and for its existence and for the subsequent development and growth of our national airline in which we take pride today, we should bless the memory of Mohammed Ali Jinnah.

MUSLIM COMMERCIAL BANK

How many of us know that it was the Qaid-e-Azam who encouraged and almost insisted on the creation of another first class Muslim bank in the sub-continent? He would say: "We claim that we are a nation one hundred million strong and yet have just one bank (the Habib Bank) out of the scores which operate in India". That, indeed, was the correct position. It was his persistence, drive and talks with the late Sir Adamjee Haji Dawood and my brother, Mirza Ahmad, which brought into being the Muslim Commercial Bank.

The Bank was incorporated in Calcutta on July 9, 1947, with an authorised capital of Rs. 3 crores. After Partition, which followed soon after, offices of the Bank were opened in the principal cities

of Pakistan by the middle of 1948, with its registered office at Karachi. The amount called up and paid was Rs. 75,03,000 (and in those years, not like our days, lacs were lacs and crores were really big money). Today, the Muslim Commercial Bank boasts of deposits (as on 31.12.1965) amounting to Rs. 63.00 crores and has 182 branches.

MUHAMMADI STEAMSHIP COMPANY

Again, how many know that it was the Qaid's drive and inspiration which egged the Habib brothers in Bombay to float the Muhammadi Steamship Company that gave the Muslim nation an opportunity to create workers in another essential and nation-building undertaking? The Habibs launched this enterprise and obtained the funds they needed for it at a time when Muslim capital was not fond of seeking investment in industry. Qaid-e-Azam's name and his call for the building up of the Muslim nation in all spheres of economic activity facilitated the task of the promoters of this Company to a large extent.

I can cite cases of other industries which came into being because of the Qaid-e-Azam's imagination and foresight, but for my present purpose the few instances I have detailed in these pages should be adequate. Those who had the privilege of knowing the Qaid-e-Azam will remember with gratitude what he often said: "Without economic progress, freedom is worth nothing as one cannot turn it to full advantage". For us, these words will never be more true than they are today.

It may also be well to remember that it was Qaid-e-Azam's persuasion which brought many Muslim entrepreneurs from foreign lands to establish industries in Pakistan. Today, they are well settled and are reaping the benefits which have accrued to them in our free land and they are also making noteworthy contribution to the building up of our economy.

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

THE Conference convened by the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, at Simla in June 1945 represented a move on the part of the British Government to rope in the political parties for the purpose of carrying on the administration and tackling a host of difficult problems arising out of the War. The British idea was to enlist the co-operation of the political parties so as to create an impression on the outside world that India was making an appreciative contribution to the war effort and was sympathetic to Britain's aspirations. It was given out that the Viceroy's Executive Council would be reconstituted within the framework of the existing constitution (Government of India Act of 1919) and that this would be without prejudice to the essential form of the future permanent constitution or constitutions for India. The proposals which the Secretary of State for India, Mr. L. S. Amery, and the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, announced were briefly as follows:

- (1) With a view to securing under the existing constitution the co-operation of all communities and sections on the war with Japan and in planning post-war economic development the Executive Council would be reconstituted so that all its members, except the Governor-General and the Commander-in-Chief, would be Indian political leaders including equal proportions of Caste Hindus and Muslims;
- (2) A conference of party leaders and Provincial Premiers and ex-Premiers would be called and they would be asked to submit panels of names from which the Viceroy would select the personnel of the Council;
- (3) Co-operation at the Centre would make possible resumption of responsible government in Section 93 provinces on the basis of coalition of the main parties.

The alacrity with which the Congress leaders, who had been released shortly before the Conference, responded to the Viceroy's invitation showed that their detention for about three years had had a chastening effect on them. Their anxiety to get on the right side of the Viceroy and join the Executive Council on the terms offered

by the British Government was in marked contrast to the bravado with which they had launched the "Quit India" movement in August 1942. Earlier in April 1942, they had rejected a similar offer brought by Sir Stafford Cripps, which Mr. Gandhi had called a 'post-dated cheque on a crashing bank'. Their calculations and hopes having proved illusory, the Congress leaders now wanted to make the best of the new offer with only one object in view, namely to capture power at the Centre under the garb of Interim arrangements and torpedo the Muslim demand for Pakistan. The Muslim League was faced with a very difficult situation. It had to ensure that the full quota of Muslim members of the reconstituted Executive Council was drawn from the ranks of the Muslim League and a safeguard was provided for the protection of Muslim interests against unfair decisions by the non-Muslim majority in the Council. The Congress and the Unionists claimed seats out of the Muslim quota.

The Qaid-e-Azam rose to the occasion and boldly faced the powerful forces ranged against him. Backed by the Working Committee, he took a firm stand on the two points mentioned above. While the Congress and other parties submitted panels of names and were prepared to abide by the Viceroy's decision on the final selection of names, the Qaid-e-Azam stood his ground and refused to submit any list of names, unless the League were assured on the two points. On neither point was the Viceroy prepared to give an assurance. He finally told the Qaid-e-Azam that he was prepared to include four members of the Muslim League but the fifth place would go to a representative of the Unionist Party. This offer was entirely unacceptable to the Muslim League, for it was inconsistent with the League's status as the representative body of the Muslims, and in the absence of the safeguard asked for, the Muslim interests would be jeopardised. I may here mention that Malik Firoz Khan Noon, who was at that time Defence Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council, kept the Qaid-e-Azam posted with inside developments and thus helped the Muslim cause.

The Muslim League's position was clearly and convincingly elucidated by the Qaid-e-Azam at a press conference on July 14, 1945, as follows: "It is obvious to any intelligent man that if we accept this arrangement the Pakistan issue will be shelved and put in cold storage indefinitely, whereas the Congress will have secured under this arrangement what they want, namely a clear road for their advance towards securing Hindu national independence of India, because the future Executive will work as a unitary government of India, and we know that this Interim or provisional arrangement will have a way of

settling down for an unlimited period, and all the forces in the proposed Executive plus the known policy of the British Government and Lord Wavell's strong inclination for a united India would completely jeopardise us".¹

In view of the Qaid-e-Azam's firm stand which was backed by the entire Muslim India, the Conference broke up. It was a triumph of his foresight, statesmanship and invincible determination. He did not falter, even though he had to face the triple combination of the British, the Congress and the quisling Muslims.

Chagrined by their failure, the Congress and other Hindu circles raised the cry that the League by its intransigence had wrecked the Conference and the Qaid-e-Azam was a stumbling block in the way of attainment of India's freedom. In fact, it was not India's freedom but the design of Hindu domination at the cost of Muslim interests that had been thwarted by his courageous and wise stand. He rightly called the Wavell Plan 'a snare' from which he saved the Muslim nation, thus paving the way for carrying on the struggle for Pakistan to a successful conclusion. The failure of the Simla Conference left the British Government with no other alternative but to order general elections to the Legislatures—Central and Provincial—which the Muslims had been demanding, for they provided the Muslim League with the long-awaited opportunity to prove its claim to be the sole representative party of the Muslims.

After the Simla Conference the Labour Party had come into power in England as a result of the general elections. Sir Stafford Cripps, one of the leading Ministers in Mr. Attlee's Cabinet, expressed the view that the failure of the Simla Conference was due not so much to the question of composition of the Interim Government as to the influence that any temporary arrangement was likely to have upon the more permanent decisions which would have to be made for the full and free self-government of India. He said: "It is far better to expedite the means of arriving at a permanent settlement in which the question of Pakistan must form a major issue. It would not be right to allow any minority, however large and important, to hold up the attainment of self-government in India any more than it would be right to force the Muslim majority provinces into a new constitutional arrangement to which they took fundamental objection".² This was a realistic appreciation of the situation. The Qaid-e-Azam in the course of a

THE SIMLA CONFERENCE

speech on August 6, 1945, declared: "Let us go ahead with the measures for a permanent constitutional settlement. Pakistan must be decided if the issue of freedom and independence of India is to be decided. We will never surrender the issue of Pakistan to anybody as our claim is just and righteous and is the only solution for India. We want to fight the elections so that they may once and for all convince those who doubt our representative character".³ On August 21, 1945, the Viceroy, Lord Wavell, announced that elections to the Central and Provincial Assemblies would be held in the cold weather.

Soon after his announcement, the Muslim League started preparations to contest the elections. It had come a long way since 1937 when the first general elections under the 1935 Act had been held. It was now well established as a mass organisation with branches in every province, district, city, tehsil and even villages and was in a position to give a fight to all the forces whose aim was to deprive the Muslims of their right to self-determination. The League had its Central and Provincial Boards which systematically set about their task of selecting party candidates and organising and conducting the election campaign. It was a stupendous undertaking which required large sums of money. Qaid-e-Azam appealed to the Muslims to contribute to the Election Fund. Using a figure of speech, he told them: "Give us the silver bullets and we will finish the job." The Muslims realised that a constitutional battle was going to be fought which once and for all would decide the future destiny of the Muslim nation. They rose to the occasion and responded magnificently to the Qaid's appeal. In forwarding their contributions the poor Muslims wrote moving letters to Qaid-e-Azam offering to sacrifice their lives, if need be, for the national cause.

I reproduce below a few letters exchanged between the Qaid and myself with reference to the elections:

Quetta,
24th September, 1945

My dear Hassan:

I have not heard from you for a long time. Please let me know what is happening in Bengal and what you people are doing to face the forthcoming elections. Don't you think that Bengal, headed by Ispahanis, should handsomely help the Provincial and the Central Muslim League Funds? You must have been following how magnificently Bombay has acted. It is

³ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad: *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*.

high time that Bengal should not lag behind. This is the time, and the most critical time, when the League should be supported handsomely and generously by those who are in a position to do so. Please keep me in touch with what you people are doing and how things are developing in Bengal. You must have read the recent statement of Nausher Ali, your ex-President of the Assembly, and the various intrigues that are going on in co-operation with the Congress leaders.

With very kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

M.A. JINNAH

2nd October, 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your letter of the 24th September which was delivered here last evening. It takes a long time for a letter to travel from Quetta to Calcutta.

I have written you two letters recently, one on the 25th September and the other yesterday. I have tried to put before you as best as I could and with as little prejudice as possible, the conditions prevailing at my end and have sought your valuable advice in regard to myself. I anxiously await it.

Yes, Bombay has not only risen but jumped to the occasion. The response from the businessmen has been magnificent. Here our Memon friends are mostly coming forward with the excuse that they have already subscribed to the Fund in Bombay. Of course, they have been told that such tales will not be heard as they are established here and have made money in and out of our province.

Nausher Ali and those of his ilk are talking big and making big promises to get hold of Congress money which they expect to flow in the Muslim majority provinces. They will fleece the Congress all right but, Insha Allah, will not leave an impression on the minds of the Muslim electorate, who are wide awake. It is very heartening to see many prominent non-Leagueurs severing their long connection with anti-League organisations and joining our truly rational body.

You do not write regarding your health. Are you fit? What is your programme after Baluchistan and Sindh? Surely you will not neglect Bengal. Your presence will inspire the workers to put in their maximum effort. I am sure you will not neglect Bengal. A visit by you is long overdue. Now that the weather is improving, when may we expect you?

With kind regards,

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

12th November, 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

I thank you for your two letters of the 2nd instant, received yesterday.

OUR ELECTION FUND—Stands at Rs. 1,00,037-2-0 received by me and Rs. 60,000/- promised. The collection work is progressing.

I note what you write about discipline and the Central Parliamentary Board's power to do justice where injustice is complained of by an applicant for nomination at the hand of the Provincial Parliamentary Board.

It is now almost a certainty that Nazimuddin will not be seeking election to the Legislature. This decision, in my opinion, is a tragedy of great magnitude for the province. Of course, Nazimuddin is very sore over the result of the election to the Board by the Provincial Council. There was some dirty play and bogus votes were recorded in fairly large numbers by the Calcutta supporters of the other party. This is now an open secret. However, although Nazimuddin knew the fact, in order to maintain the solidarity and to fight the elections he bore the defeat in silence. His friends have been requesting him to re-consider his decision, but uptil now he has not changed his mind. It must however be said to his credit that he is putting every source of his energy to make the collection of funds and the coming elections a success.

Shahabuddin has definitely decided not to seek election. Few will miss him. His wife who represents the Muslim ladies of East Bengal has also decided not to seek election. I know of a few others also who do not want to return to the Legislature. However, the coming or not of these persons does not make any difference, but Sir Nazimuddin's decision, if carried out, will be a tragedy.

I did not want to communicate this news to you but felt that I would be failing in my duty to you if I did not give you all the information that, in my opinion, is very important from the League's point of view.

I am not strong, fit and free enough to fight another election and to devote 6 to 7 weeks of my time from early in the morning till late at night in running from street to street and station to station for conducting my electioneering campaign. These are the circumstances that are even making me waver.

The newspapers report that you propose visiting Bengal. I can only reiterate what I have written before in this regard. You have not come to Bengal for a long time and your presence is necessary at this juncture to set sails for a good voyage.

I was expecting the summoning of a Working Committee meeting in Delhi by about the middle of this month. No notice however has been received.

With kindest regards,

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

5th December, 1945

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

There was spontaneous rejoicing in Muslim quarters when the result of your election was announced. Need I say how glad I am that Laljee has been taught the lesson of his life? I cannot forget the talk between Ardeshir Dalal and Laljee on the 20th October last in the lobby of the Central Assembly in the presence of Azizul Haque and myself.

Dalal to Laljee: "Well, I take my hat off to you for having announced your decision to cross swords with Jinnah. You are either a brave man or a very foolish fellow". Laljee: "Why—I am not foolish nor does it require bravery to face and defeat Jinnah".

Dalal: "Oh! really? The result will show who is right, you or I".
Myself: "Exactly".

Amir⁴ has been returned with a thumping majority. I am bursting with joy. Our candidates too are making excellent progress and Insha Allah we shall teach our opponents the lesson of their lives.

Muslim League—ZINDABAD!

Mohammed Ali Jinnah—ZINDABAD!

Our cause is just and with Allah's help we shall go from success to success in spite of gigantic obstacles that are put in our way and in spite of the money bags that are being emptied at the feet of Muslims who come forward to abuse the League.

When may we expect you in Bengal?

With kind regards and praying for your good health,

Yours very sincerely,

HASSAN

In the first encounter—elections to the Central Legislative Assembly—the Muslim League emerged with flying colours. It captured all the thirty Muslim seats, the opposing candidates in many cases forfeiting their deposits. The Congress claimed to be a "national" body representing the Muslims as well as the Hindus, but it could find no candidates to contest the election on its ticket. The so-called "Nationalist" Muslim candidates sustained a crushing defeat. The League's success was even more impressive than that of the Congress which won 57 out of 62 General, in other words, Hindu seats.

⁴ The Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad.

The second round was fought when elections to the Provincial Assemblies were held in February 1946. They had the significance of a kind of referendum, for the League fought them on two clear-cut issues, namely Pakistan is the national demand of the Musalmans of India, and the Muslim League is their authoritative, representative organisation. It faced a strong array of hostile forces—the Congress with its sixty-year old mighty organisation, propaganda machinery, press, financial backing, the 'quisling' Muslim groups encouraged by the Congress and last but not least, the Unionists in the Punjab—a group of powerful feudal landlords and Hindu moneyed classes enjoying the blessing and support of the British authorities. The League did not have any of these advantages, but it had two priceless assets—the inspiring leadership of Qaid-e-Azam and a band of sincere and devoted workers imbued with missionary zeal to fight for the national cause. Unpretentious young men, particularly students of colleges and universities, Aligarh above all, formed the vanguard of this army of voluntary workers. The Muslims in the Hindu majority provinces voted solidly for the League, although they knew that those areas would not form part of Pakistan. It was an act of sacrifice which will redound to their eternal credit. But the League's performance in the Muslim majority provinces too was impressive. The fiercest electoral battle was fought in the Punjab which was the citadel of reactionary forces. The League faced and worsted a mighty combination of feudal landlords, militant Akali Sikhs and Hindu Banias, backed by the British authorities. They resorted to all manner of corruption, graft, intimidation, coercion and official interference to force Muslim voters to vote for the Unionists against their will, but nothing availed against the awakened national consciousness of the Muslims.

The League's performance in Bengal too was magnificent. Here, I must record a fact which shows how our great leader had infused a spirit of self-abnegation in his colleagues. There were two groups of candidates for the League ticket. One was led by Khwaja Nazimuddin and the other by H.S. Suhrawardy. To preclude all possibility of dissension in the League ranks and to ensure its success at the polls, Khwaja Nazimuddin withdrew himself and did not even apply for the League ticket. All, however, worked unitedly as a team and the result was that the Muslim League captured 113 out of 119 Muslim seats. Muslim Leaguers were also successful from some special constituencies.

When we were getting ready to contest the provincial election, Mr. Jinnah very kindly accepted our invitation to tour Bengal and

Assam and to give us his personal support which was, without doubt, extremely valuable. As was his practice, he honoured me by staying with me while in Calcutta. I booked a saloon for the tour in which he and his party, with loud speaker equipment, travelled to the important towns of the two provinces. At almost every stop, scheduled or forced by the people, he stood at the door of his compartment and uttered words of encouragement to the Muslim men, women and children, some of whom had come from far-away places "just to see their great leader" and to pay him the homage he so richly deserved. He urged them to make still greater effort to ensure the success of the League candidates in the coming elections. He called upon them to be united; he told them what the Muslim League was fighting for and what the achievement of Pakistan would mean to the Muslims. He warned them of Hindus schemings and their effort to prevent the Muslims from achieving their cherished goal. In the cities and towns the turnout was large, often very large. All along the railway line over which the wheels of our saloon rolled, Muslim villagers were gathered to cheer their leader. At times, enthusiasm was so great and emotion ran so high that people lay across the railway line to forcibly stop the train and thus get a chance to see the Qaid and to hear his voice. These stoppages became so frequent during the day that not only the Qaid but also the younger set which included among others, Suhrawardy, K. H. Khurshid and myself, who accompanied him, grew weary after a couple of days on the train. What made matters worse was that at all hours of the night a similar demonstration awaited the Qaid's train which was running several hours late as a result of constant halts and hold-ups. For a couple of nights he broke his sleep almost every hour to peep out of his window and to utter words of appreciation and cheer to the waiting crowds. Then he grew very tired and did not have the strength to continue with his over-strained, round-the-clock programme. I remember one night when it was past midnight, in spite of the clamorous demands of the people assembled to greet him, he refused to leave his bed. He just did not have the strength to respond. The gathering outside insisted on having a look at their great leader even if it be for a minute. They cried that they had walked long distances to see and salute their leader. But he would not oblige. They were disappointed although they were told by us that the Qaid-e-Azam was not too well and that the doctor had advised him to rest at night.

The tour was not only a success but a complete triumph for the Qaid and the League. Muslim villagers and town folks went back to their homes resolved to unite and fight for the League which had emerged as their sole and authoritative political party in India. The

THE SIMLA
results of the election which I have given below proved how well the people had understood their leader's message and how they had responded to his call.

The break-down of the seats won by the League, province-wise, was as follows:

Assam, 31 out of 34; Bengal, 113 out of 119; Bihar, 34 out of 40; Orissa, 4 out of 4; United Provinces, 55 out of 66; Punjab, 79 out of 86; NWFP, 17 out of 38; Sind, 28 out of 35 (later in the second general elections held in December 1946 the Muslim League captured all the 35 seats); Bombay, 30 out of 30; CP, 14 out of 14; Madras, 29 out of 29.

Thanks to the Qaid's matchless leadership and to the support and loyalty it evoked from the Muslim nation, the League's representative status was triumphantly established. For ten years our great leader had worked patiently, methodically and steadfastly to unite the Muslims of the sub-continent and to make them conscious of their true destiny. His efforts bore fruit. From now on, nothing could obstruct the Muslims in their march to the goal of their freedom.

The 1946 elections were followed by an important gathering which constitutes a landmark in the history of the struggle for Pakistan. In April 1946, Qaid-e-Azam called a convention of all the newly elected Muslim League members of the legislatures—Central and Provincial—at Delhi. It was attended by about 470 legislators—a unique assembly in the history of the Muslim Freedom Movement. The idea of Pakistan embodied in the Lahore Resolution of 1940 was further clarified and elaborated in concrete terms in the resolution passed at the Convention. It was moved by Mr. H. S. Suhrawardy, the Premier of Bengal. It stated, *inter alia*, that “in the vast sub-continent of India a hundred million Muslims are the adherents of a Faith which regulates every department of their life—educational, social, economic and political—whose code is not confined merely to spiritual doctrines and tenets or rituals and ceremonies and which stands in sharp contrast to the exclusive nature of Hindu Dharma and Philosophy which has fostered and maintained for thousands of years a rigid caste system resulting in the degradation of 60 million human beings to the position of untouchables, creation of unnatural barriers between man and man and superimposition of social and economic inequalities on a large body of the people of this country and which threatens to reduce Muslims, Christians and other minorities to the status of irredeemable helots socially and economically” and further

144
that "different historical backgrounds, traditions, cultures and social and economic orders of the Hindus and Muslims have made impossible the evolution of a single Indian nation inspired by common aspirations and ideals".

The resolution laid down the following principles for the solution of the Indian problem, *viz.*, that "the zones comprising Bengal and Assam in the north-east and the Punjab, North-West Frontier Province, Sind and Baluchistan in the north-west of India, where the Muslims are in a dominant majority, be constituted into a *sovereign independent state*" and "two separate, constitution-making bodies be set up by the peoples of Pakistan and Hindustan for the purpose of framing their respective constitutions." It is noteworthy that this resolution speaks of 'a sovereign, independent state' instead of 'independent states' and clearly defines the area of the contemplated Pakistan State.⁵

The unity and interests of the Muslim nation demanded the formation of one consolidated sovereign state—a proposition which has been justified by all subsequent developments in the sub-continent. For a mysterious reason it was the same Mr. Suhrawardy who, a year later, sponsored and worked for a sovereign independent united Bengal !

Those who are alive today and were members of the Subjects Committee which was entrusted with the responsibility of drafting the main Resolution (9th and 10th April, 1946) and Mr. K. H. Khurshid, who was Secretary to the Qaid-e-Azam at the time, well remember that someone pointed out that the word "State" would be inconsistent with the Lahore Resolution of 1940 which clearly mentioned the word "States". The Qaid-e-Azam said that the word "States" was a mistake and had cropped up probably as a result of a typographical error. It was then stated that even the published records of the Central Office of the All-India Muslim League carried the word in plural. The Qaid-e-Azam replied what really mattered was the intention and not the word. In fact, he directed that the

⁵ It may be recalled that on a previous occasion Qaid-e-Azam had spoken of a single independent state as Muslim India's goal. In the course of his presidential address at the Madras session of the All-India Muslim League in 1941 he said: "The ideology of the League is based on the fundamental principle that Muslim India is an independent nationality. Any attempt to get them to merge their nationality or political identity or entity will not only be resisted but, in my opinion, it will be futile for anyone to attempt it. We are determined, and let there be no mistake about it, to establish the status of an independent nation and an independent state in this sub-continent".

records be rectified. Thus, this minor controversy on the words "State" and "States" was put to rest by him.⁶

The Lahore Resolution of 1940 was by no means the immutable Law of Moses. It was nothing more and nothing less than a political resolution and politics are never static. They move with the times and are subject to change to meet the existing circumstances. And this is exactly what has happened to the Lahore Resolution. In 1946, when the newly-elected Muslim Legislators met at the Anglo-Arabic College at Delhi, the typographical error of the word "State" was rectified thereby deleting the word "States" which had appeared in the Resolution earlier and the reference to territorial readjustments too was deleted. I have already dealt with this particular point in detail.

I may here add an important point. Some people pose the question whether the Delhi Convention had the right to make a basic change in the resolution adopted at an open session of the League. The objection is merely an irrelevant technicality. From the practical point of view the Muslim nation itself was the highest tribunal. The Lahore session could not be considered to be as representative of the Muslim nation as the Delhi Convention which was attended by about 470 legislators duly and constitutionally elected by the vote of the entire nation. The change effected by the Delhi Convention resolution had the support of the nation; it was not objected to by any Muslim. In fact, the nation from the beginning had looked forward to a united sovereign Pakistan.

The members attending the session signed a solemn pledge to the effect that they would undergo every suffering and sacrifice to uphold the Muslim national demand for Pakistan. The proceedings of the Convention made it abundantly clear that the Muslim League had reached a stage where it would not shrink from a fight to the finish if constitutional methods failed to secure for Muslims their legitimate right to self-determination.

At the conclusion of the Convention, Qaid-e-Azam in a moving speech declared: "After deliberations we have made a solemn declaration in this august and historic convention that while we hope for the best we are prepared for the worst. In a clear, emphatic and definite declaration we have expressed our determination to face

⁶ This should provide an adequate answer to those who raise their voices in support of separate states and a loose confederation thereof.

all dangers. For us there is no other course.... We have lost the fullness of our character. And what is character?—Highest sense of honour and the highest sense of integrity, conviction, incorruptibility, readiness at any time to efface oneself for the collective good of the nation. And yet, we have done wonders. In five years our renaissance has been a miracle of achievement. I begin to think it has been a dream. How rapidly the nation is developing that character again in its pristine purity!" Then in prophetic tones, Qaid-e-Azam declared: "Is Britain going to decide the destiny of hundred million Muslims? No, nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us from our goal. Let us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic convention full of hope, courage and faith. Insha Allah, we shall win".

THE MUSLIM LEAGUE—FROM THE ARMCHAIR TO THE MASSES.

In December, 1906, the All-India Muslim League was founded at Dacca for the purpose of protecting and furthering Muslim rights in the political, social, economic and educational fields. Nawab Viqar-ul-Mulk and Khwaja Sir Salimullah, the Nawab of Dacca, were the prime movers. The Nawab Bahadur, with the liberality characteristic of the Muslim aristocracy, played host to all who responded to the invitation. After the session of the All-India Muslim Educational Conference which was attended by many Muslim dignitaries and leading figures, many of the participants of the said Conference formed the All-India Muslim League to enable the Muslims of the sub-continent to present their needs and grievances to the British Government in an organized manner and to make representation for the safeguard of the interests of the community in various fields. Every now and again, a deputation was organized to wait upon the Viceroy or the Governor to plead for adequate representation on public bodies or for a larger percentage in the Government services or for better educational facilities. In the circumstances prevailing at the time, the leaders could not think of fighting for their rights in the sense that we understand today.

Like its counterpart, the Indian National Congress, the Muslim League met once or twice a year, almost always in delightful weather and in salubrious surroundings, to pass a resolution of loyalty to the King-Emperor and to nominate members of delegations and deputations.

By 1913, the League had changed its creed to the 'attainment of self-government suitable to India'. In coming years, it participated in important discussions with the Hindu-controlled Congress for the settlement of various issues facing the country. Its representative character was established when, in 1916, the League-Congress agreement commonly known as the Lucknow Pact was concluded. Mr. Jinnah, who had been previously a staunch Congressite and had represented the Congress as a member of its delegation to London in 1906

and 1914, was mainly responsible for this rapprochement. In spite of the influence it had attained, the party did nothing impressive in the way of organizing the Muslim masses as an effective political force. Even after Mr. Jinnah's return in 1935, from his self-imposed exile in London, the shape of the League had hardly altered for the better. Some provincial Muslim Leagues existed on paper and the organization's name was almost always utilized by a microscopic few who posed themselves as leaders to further their own interests. Then came the Government of India Act of 1935 which foreshadowed a measure of autonomy and parliamentary rule in a limited field. This was a shot in the arm for politicians. Mr. Jinnah was awake and watchful. With his foresight and political acumen, he saw in these reforms an opportunity to awaken the Muslims from years of slumber and lethargy and to make them appreciate that the time had come, when they, too, like the majority community, should play their full part in the political life of the country. He resolved to convert the galaxy of estimable gentlemen and a set of armchair politicians and resolution-framers, into a virile body of workers who would spread the message of the League to the common man throughout the length and breadth of the sub-continent and transform it into a mass organization.

It was after the Bombay session of the Muslim League in April 1936, that a decision was taken to re-organize the League which Mr. Jinnah had often described as being in a moribund condition. The decision vitally affected the trend of Muslim politics in future, with far-reaching consequences to the political outlook of the Muslims. The policy of merely passing resolutions and forwarding them to the proper authorities and awaiting results thereafter, was radically changed. The League leadership entered the arena of practical politics 'turning its appeal from the limited circle of the intelligentsia to the millions of enfranchised electorate'. The Calcutta evening paper, the *Star of India*, in its issue of April 22, 1936, referring to the importance of the session and those who took part in it, rightly declared: "The combination of the commercial magnates, landed aristocracy, the intelligentsia, the left-wingers of the Muslim League, under the leadership of Mr. Jinnah, would be a tremendous force in Muslim politics to be reckoned with".

In deciding to overhaul the League organisation as an effective party and redefining and reorientating its policy, Mr. Jinnah's views were consistent with his political past. 'The Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity', who in the past had played his full part in bringing the Muslim League nearer to the Congress, was keen for a rapprochement between the two bodies. His speeches of the period show his intense

desire to seek co-operation with the major political party of the country. He had repeatedly declared that without Hindu-Muslim co-operation, and an agreed mutual settlement of the problems facing the country, political progress was not possible. He regretted that there was no unity of purpose in Indian politics. Still he believed that the differences which divided the Hindus and Muslims were not unbridgeable and could be composed if a sincere and honest effort were made. In his speech, delivered on March 6, 1936, at a crowded public meeting held at the Lajpat Rai Hall, Lahore, Mr. Jinnah asked: 'When shall we learn to face the real issues? The only possible way out of all this is that the leaders, at least if you have any leaders, meet together, and sit down as politicians and statesmen, and not as Hindus, Muslims or Christians and see what danger lies ahead and devise ways and means of destroying that danger!' He assured that the Muslims were anxious and as ready as any Hindu nationalist to stand by the country and struggle for the freedom of the land. On previous occasions, he had tried to dispel the doubts which had been publicly expressed by many a Congress leader, specially Mr. Jawaharlal Nehru, about his efforts to organize the Muslims under the banner of the League. What greater proof of his sincerity of purpose and his keenness for an honourable understanding with the Congress could be desired after his famous declaration of March 2, 1936, at the historic city of Lahore (where 4 years later, compelled by the dictatorial attitude of the Congress, especially Mr. Nehru who regarded himself as 'master of all he surveyed' the League adopted the famous Pakistan Resolution) in which referring to his part at the Round Table Conference he said: 'I displeased the Muslims, I displeased my Hindu friends because of the 'famous' 14 points. I displeased the Princes because I was deadly against their underhand activities and I displeased the British Parliament because . . . I rebelled against it and said that it was all a fraud . . . but whatever I have done, let me assure you, there has been no change in me, not the slightest, since the day when I joined the Indian National Congress. It might be I have been wrong on some occasions. But it has never been done in a partisan spirit. My sole and only object has been the welfare of my country'. Mr. Jinnah appealed for communal co-operation and understanding and concluded, 'I will not and cannot give it up. It may give me up, but I will not'.²

✓ Mr. Jinnah realised that the League Organization lacked the people's sanction and support and unless and until the party became

¹ *Civil and Military Gazette*, March 7, 1936.

² Cited by Z. H. Zaidi in his paper on "Aspects of the Development of the Muslim League Policy, 1937-1947".

a popular organization it could not be taken seriously by the Congress. He made this clear in a statement issued on April 27, 1936, when he said: 'Hindus cannot take Muslims seriously and the Congress does not take it seriously, because, so far we Muslims have not proved ourselves worthy of alliance and until we do show by our deeds and by our policy that we are ready to take a proper place in the national life of the country, there cannot be a whole-hearted and real settlement. My advice to the Muslims is that they should first organize themselves and deserve before they desire. We are engaged in the task of organizing electorates and training 80 million Muslims to the higher level of political understanding, so that they might be soldiers ultimately for the national struggle. I have always felt that if Muslims could speak in one voice, a settlement of Hindus and Muslims would come quicker While Muslims are, therefore, justified in putting their own affairs in order and in organizing themselves, it does not mean that, in the meanwhile, they should not stand firmly by national interest. In fact, they should prove that their patriotism is un-sullied and that their love of India and her progress is no less than that of any other community in the country.'³ In fact, Mr. Jinnah was so keen on co-operation that he did not regard even the separate electorate or the Communal Award as an ideal arrangement. They were, to him, a temporary measure which could be replaced by something better.

With his views clearly defined, Mr. Jinnah took the first important step by calling a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board at Lahore in June, 1936 where, *inter alia* stock was taken of the existing political situation in the country. Discussions were held on how to convert the League into an active political organization of the masses, the strategy to be employed for winning the maximum number of seats for the League candidates, both at the Centre and in the Provincial Legislatures, on the Manifesto and rules of the Central and Provincial Parliamentary Boards, on the selection of persons to organize branches of the League in the provinces where the Muslim League was not more than a name, on publicity and on all matters which related directly, or indirectly, to issues vital to Muslim unity.

As I have already stated, it was after the meeting of the Parliamentary Board at Lahore that Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and I pledged ourselves to work for the re-organization and re-invigoration of the Muslim League under Mr. Jinnah's leadership. During the years 1936-47, the League went through many vicissitudes but it continued

³ Cited by Z. H. Zaidi in his paper on 'Aspects of the Development of the Muslim League Policy 1937-1947'.

MUSLIM LEAGUE

to gain strength as a vigorous mass organization. I kept constantly in touch with my leader and I shall relate here some of the phases of the re-organization with the help of the letters I exchanged with him during this period.

The popular awakening among the Muslims and the growing threat posed by the attitude of the Congress leaders had brought the 'conservatives' and the 'progressives' among the Muslim politicians into the fold of the League. There was naturally a difference of outlook and approach between the two wings. The New Muslim Majlis, of which I was an active member, belonged to the progressive group. Mr. Jinnah's repeated pronouncements in the past and his personal verbal assurance to Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and myself at Nidou's Hotel, Lahore, to rid the League of reactionary and conservative elements and to make it a popular organization encouraged the members of the New Muslim Majlis to join the organization. Naturally, I, along with some of my other colleagues, was keen for a rapid transformation of the League into a powerful body with a wide and popular base, capable of fighting foreign rule and securing an honourable place for the Muslims in a free India. The 'conservatives' with their eyes on the offices available under Provincial Autonomy resisted such a change, for it affected their vested interests. They even seemed to be afraid of popular forces gaining the upper hand within the League and adopted underhand means to obstruct the objectives for which Mr. Jinnah stood. I was impatient and could not stand this attitude on their part. In a letter dated March 23, 1937, I complained to my Leader about the outlook of these office-seekers: "I honestly feel that self-interest has once again proved to be a greater interest than the interest of the community. I felt that the Mussalmans of Bengal had, at long last, got back a portion of their lost self-respect. I was mistaken". In his reply dated April 4, 1937, Mr. Jinnah, as was his wont, advised me to be patient: "You cannot expect everything to go on on the footing of a highly developed standard of public life, as these are only the beginnings that are being made. You must not mix up the aims we have with the achievements. The aims are not achieved immediately they are laid down. But I think, on the whole, Bengal has done well and we must be thankful for small mercies. As you go on, of course, with patience and tact, things are bound to develop and improve more and more in accordance with our ideals and aims". As later events showed, Mr. Jinnah's approach to the question was right. It was only through sustained effort and systematic work that the League was converted into a strong and popular organization.

In January, 1935, actuated by an earnest desire to bring about

152
an understanding between the League and the Congress with a view to accelerating political and constitutional progress, Mr. Jinnah, in his personal capacity, entered into negotiations with the Congress President, Dr. Rajendra Prasad. The talks had remained inconclusive and the impression at the time was that they would be resumed at a more propitious moment. After the general elections to the Provincial Assemblies in February, 1937, there was a propaganda campaign by the Congress leaders that a formula for the settlement of the Hindu-Muslim question had been evolved as a result of Jinnah-Prasad talks and Dr. Rajendra Prasad had offered to get it ratified by the Congress. I was among those who thought that this provided an opportunity for a League-Congress settlement and was a step in the right direction to solve the political tangle. On July 22, 1937, Nooruddin and I despatched the following telegram to Mr. Jinnah: "In our opinion, Rajendra Prasad's offered ratification of your formula regarding Hindu-Muslim differences should be given best consideration. Kindly wire opinion".

In his reply dated August 1, 1937, Mr. Jinnah referred us to his statement on the question. I reproduce here the relevant portions of the statement dated July 26, 1937, as they throw light on the course of the negotiations and the correct position: "In what he (Dr. Rajendra Prasad) characterises as a 'sporting offer' he makes another statement which is absolutely incorrect and without foundation. He says 'I am making a sporting offer to Mr. Jinnah that I offer to get the formula accepted by the Congress even today if he offers as he had done then to get signatures to it of all Mussalman Leaders barring one or two whom he had named to me'. It is a conditional offer devoid of any sporting spirit. In the first place, I never offered to get signatures to Babu Rajendra Prasad's formula of all Muslim leaders barring one or two whom I had named, or any leader. Babu Rajendra Prasad has forgotten the genesis of our conversations. I was requested by Babu Rajendra Prasad and other Congress leaders to meet him, and the question was how to put an end to the bitter controversy that was raging at the time over the Communal Award until a substitute was agreed upon between the communities concerned, and that we should utilise the Provincial Constitution for what it was worth and carry on our united struggle until we secure a constitution for our country which will satisfy our people. This was not acceptable to Babu Rajendra Prasad and his friends.

"Next, it was suggested that if they would propose a substitute on the basis of joint electorate which would be more in the interests of the Mussalmans than the Communal Award, would I then consider it? I naturally said, if any such proposal came with the universal support

of the communities concerned, namely, the Hindus, and Sikhs, I would place it before the session of the All-India Muslim League without delay”.

Mr. Jinnah was prepared to meet Dr. Rajendra Prasad and discuss the issues and had written to him accordingly. But Dr. Prasad, mainly for propaganda purposes, issued a public statement regarding his offer. That this was not a proper course was pointed out by Mr. Jinnah in his statement: “It is somewhat astonishing that Babu Rajendra Prasad should have adopted the method, the manner and the channel of approach, through which he flung this ‘sporting offer’ with regard to an issue which involves the fate and the future of eighty million Mussalmans and the country at large. In all seriousness, I appeal to him; does he think that this is the right way to open negotiations through the channel of the press for the settlement of this vital and far-reaching question? Surely, if a substitute for the Communal Award, which the Mussalmans have already accepted, is to be proposed, it can only come from the Hindu and Sikh leaders who are opposed to it and the two communities directly concerned. I can repeat now what I said when we commenced our talks at Delhi in January, 1935, that if Dr. Rajendra Prasad is so sure of getting the Congress to adopt his formula as a substitute for the Communal Award and informs me to that effect with the authority and sanction of the Congress, I will place it before the All-India Muslim League without delay.... The sudden change of front and the manner, the method and the channel namely, the press, that are adopted and what is being reported in newspapers about a few Muslims in the United Provinces threatening to leave the Muslim League if I do not carry out what Dr. Rajendra Prasad has enjoined me to do, lead me to suspect that it is not a genuine desire for an honourable settlement, but is an attempt to divide the Mussalmans, to split the Muslim League and to strike a blow at unity among the Mussalmans for which I have been working”.

Concluding his statement, Mr. Jinnah appealed to Mussalmans not to give way to defeatism: “To those who suffer from a defeatist mentality, I say, have courage and faith, *Delhi dur ast* and I say to all Mussalmans of India to organize, consolidate and establish solidarity and unity. Service, suffering and sacrifice are absolutely essential conditions before we can achieve anything big and secure our rightful place in the national life of our country”.

Mr. Jinnah’s clarification of the whole position convinced us that the Congress leaders’ ‘sporting offer’ was merely a propaganda stunt calculated to malign Mr. Jinnah, create a split in the ranks of the

Muslim League and frustrate the efforts to bring about unity and solidarity among the Muslims.

If further proof is necessary to establish that Dr. Rajendra Prasad wanted to wriggle out of an embarrassing situation by having promised to deliver goods beyond his power, I shall quote a statement issued by Bengali Hindu leaders—Makhan Lal Sen, Satyendranath Majumdar, Indranarayan Sen Gupta, Nepal Chandra Ray, Dulal Chandra Mitra, Chapal Kanta Bhattacharya, Dhires Chandra Chakravarti—which appeared in the *Leader*, Allahabad, of July 15, 1937:

“Babu Rajendra Prasad’s statement in this connection, has, however, surprised us most. The formula that evolved out of these compromise talks had for its basis the infamous Communal decision and was deemed in some respects to be more reactionary than the decision itself. In the circumstances, we are only left to wonder how Babu Rajendra Prasad could assure Mr. Jinnah of his wearing down Hindu opposition, particularly after having sustained heavy defeats in Bengal and the Punjab on the question of Communal decision itself. If Babu Rajendra Prasad thus chose to keep his attention confined upon the Hindus alone, may not one enquire what became of the ‘Congress claim to represent all the communities composing the Indian Nation?’

“In the present controversy, however, the main point at issue is how did the negotiations break down? According to Babu Rajendra Prasad, the negotiations fell through because Mr. Jinnah insisted upon having Pandit Malaviya’s signature, which could not be secured. We happened to be present at Delhi at the time the negotiations reached their culmination and were called upon to discuss the matter with the Congress President, Babu Rajendra Prasad, and with the Congress leaders. It was nowhere stated in the terms nor were we ever given to understand that ratification by Mr. Jinnah of those terms was conditioned upon Pandit Malaviya’s agreement thereto. Had it been so, Mr. Jinnah should have directly opened negotiations with Panditji himself as the only person who could deliver the goods. But possibly Mr. Jinnah knew Panditji too well and was discreet enough not to face Panditji with proposals that carried so much their own condemnation.

“Not to speak of Panditji, even Bengal M.L.A.’s and ourselves in our discussions with Babu Rajendra Prasad expressed our unqualified disapproval of his formula. We could not do otherwise inasmuch as public opinion in Bengal, in and outside the Congress, unmistakably asserted itself against this formula. Babu Rajendra Prasad was fully informed of this from the wires he had received in this connection

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM THE ARMCHAIR

from some of the Congress leaders, as well as leading public men in the province. That Congress opinion in Bengal was decidedly against Jinnah-Rajendra Prasad formula was proved beyond dispute by the Dinajpur Conference unanimously rejecting the formula in a clear and unmistakable manner.

"It is, therefore, not a fact that there was absolutely no difference among Congressmen 'on this question'. On the contrary, the province most adversely affected by the Communal decision made its opinion definitely known against the Jinnah-Prasad terms from the very outset. In matters affecting the body-politic, hurried pacts in the nature of makeshifts, hatched up with an eye more to expediency, far from helping can only retard the lasting good of the nation".

Being convinced that the Congress leaders were not earnest for settlement, we started the League work with renewed vigour. But all was not well with the organization in my own province of Bengal. There was hardly any co-ordination amongst the leaders and the Provincial Muslim League was disorganised. My group's dissatisfaction with the affairs of the League spurred me to approach our leader and to apprise him of the state of affairs. I even asked him to dis-affiliate the branch as I suspected some of the leaders of pro-Congress leanings. In my letter of August 11, 1937, I warned Mr. Jinnah that in case he was unable to dis-affiliate the branch which was headed by inefficient workers, we would be forced to devise means to 'capture it, lock, stock and barrel'. Despite my repeated protestations and constant appeals, Mr. Jinnah was not prepared to adopt an unconstitutional and un-democratic course in dealing with the Bengal Provincial Muslim League. The reply I received from Mr. Jinnah was again most instructive. He wrote :

"You see it is not easy for me to dis-affiliate the Bengal Provincial Muslim League unless there are some categorical charges against them, and even now if you will let me know definitely as to what they have done exactly, either the President, the Secretary or the Executive, I can place the matter before the Council of the All-India Muslim League. After all, I have no power as President to dis-affiliate. But before I put the matter before the Council, I must have definite charges against the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, or its Executive. So far, even according to you, it has been a dead organization, and a vague charge that it is pro-Congress is hardly enough. What have they done? Or, what are they doing which you people complain of? I agree with you that there are certain elements in this dead organization who are undesirable. But this sort of general allegation is not enough. I will, therefore, beg of you and our friends there to capture this organization which you can easily do and make it your own, if the public opinion is behind you, and if you can enroll a large number of members, it is very easy to accomplish the task".

This advice not only points out the current method to be followed by those who stand for reforming their organization but also disproves the charge that Mr. Jinnah was dictatorial in method and temper.

Shortly after the Lucknow Session in October, 1937, there was a bye-election in Bijnore (U P) which was won by Hafiz Mohammad Ibrahim, who, after betraying the Muslim League, had been appointed a Minister in the Congress Cabinet in U P. We were disappointed. I wrote to Mr. Jinnah on November 9, 1937:

"The expected has happened at Bijnore. The Congress are intoxicated with their victory forgetting totally that it was the Muslim Green banners and inscriptions from the Holy Qoran and the 'Fatwas' of the Pirs and the Jamiat-ul-Ulema that gave them the victory. To me, this defeat is a victory for it will egg us on to better work and unite us all".

Again, on November 22, 1937, I wrote:

"From reports received I am sorry to inform you that the Moradabad bye-election in UP is not going too well for the League candidate. This is a great pity and unless proper candidates are set up and the League works very actively in their support, repeated defeats will have a bad effect on the political morale in our camp. I, therefore, request you kindly to keep the UP people up and doing".

The reverses in a few elections did not dishearten Mr. Jinnah. He seemed unaffected by the depressing letters which I had written to him about the affairs in Bengal and the United Provinces. He remained cool and steady and advised me not to despair. In reply to my letters, Mr. Jinnah wrote on November 28, 1937:

"The United Provinces has its difficulties because they have not got a band of leaders who could work together and keep up sustained effort and unfortunately there is not a single man of outstanding position there who could command the respect and confidence of the people generally. Anyhow, this movement will throw up men and United Provinces will soon come into its own. There is nothing to despair. Loss of one or two elections is not going to make the slightest difference. It seems a temporary disappointment and we cannot always win".

The League eventually won the Moradabad bye-election and also the bye-elections at Saharanpur and Bulandshahr in quick succession. So Mr. Jinnah wrote to me on October 18, 1937:

"I am glad you have bucked up. We have come out alright from Moradabad and also at Saharanpur and my information is that Bulandshahr is a certainty. So buck up".

I was jubilant and wrote to my leader on December 15, 1937:

"Long Live the League—Long Live Jinnah: We smarted under the pain of our defeat at the hands of the Ulema in Bijnor. God was merciful and did not allow us to bear this humiliation for long. The tables are now turned and I should like to know what the Pandits and the High Gurus of the Congress now feel about their influence and control over the Muslim masses. If India wants freedom and if there is to be salvation for the down-trodden hundreds of millions of people, then the Congress should realise without further delay that such freedom can only be achieved by co-operation and by gaining the goodwill of the largest minority in India. The accredited representative of this large minority today is the All-India Muslim League and the sooner the Congress come to their senses and meet the League on a basis of equality—climbing down several steps from their high pedestal—the better will it be for national unity, progress and happiness".

Since Mr. Jinnah had asked me to keep him informed of the political developments and about the affairs of the League, I felt it as my bounden duty to write to him also on questions which were not directly the concern of my province. As I have related elsewhere, the Unionists in the Punjab had declared their adherence to the League at its Lucknow Session. It was hoped that they would keep to their word and would work for the League whose pledge they had signed. But things did not seem to be moving in the right direction. I, therefore, apprised my leader of the situation in the Punjab and wrote to him on January 25, 1938:

"The Unionist Group that came and swore allegiance to the League in Lucknow is apparently trying to slip away from the bargain that it has struck. Ever since their return to the Punjab, the leaders of the Unionist Party have made no attempt whatsoever to try and spread the gospel of the League to the people of the Punjab. The Congress on the other hand, is moving very fast. I am confident that the hand of Emerson* is busy in pulling the string of these marionettes. Apparently, he does not look with favour on the advanced policy of the League which has almost come in line with and, in some instances, gone further than the Congress itself! He wants reaction to remain and this can only be done by discouraging the spread of Muslim League ideals and principles. I have it on good authority, and this is in absolute strict confidence between you and I, that attempts are being made and excuses are being devised whereby the promised session of the League Council at Lahore in April may not be held. I respectfully submit to you that whether the Unionist wants it or not, the true Leaguers in Lahore should be got in touch with from now to see that there is no shelving or postponement of this session. The Punjab needs a good and successful session to get the League running on its own motive power. Once it gets going, then Inshallah, not all the King's Horses and not all the King's Men will stop the Muslim League again".

Sir Herbert Emerson, then Governor of the Punjab.

Despite the attitude of the Unionists, the current of the League was running very fast through the country and I was sure that those who were hesitant in their support would swim with it before long. It had been the desire of the Muslim Leaguers in Bengal that the All-India Muslim League should hold its annual session at Calcutta but the session was eventually held at Lucknow. We, however, persisted in our effort and the Organizing Committee unanimously decided to write to Mr. Jinnah to hold a special session at Calcutta during the Easter holidays of 1938. We set up a tastefully decorated open-air Stadium in Mohammad Ali Park, and the Town Hall was kept in reserve in case of a Norwester rain and storm. Mr. Jinnah accompanied by Miss Fatima Jinnah reached Calcutta on April 16, 1938, and was accorded a memorable reception at Howrah station. The station itself and all the approaches to it were so crowded that I could not go near Mr. Jinnah to welcome him. He was taken in a huge procession which indicated the great awakening that had taken place among the Muslims of Calcutta and Howrah within such a short time. The session was a remarkable success. It drew large numbers of delegates from all parts of India. With justifiable enthusiasm, Mr. Jinnah, in his presidential address, spoke of the League's success in organizing the Muslims:

'Within less than six months, we have succeeded in organizing Mussalmans all over India as they never were at any time during the last century and a half. They have been galvanized and awakened in a manner which has astounded and staggered our opponents. Mussalmans have shaken off torpor and have shed their miserable state of despair and demoralisation into which they were sunk so deep. They are beginning to realise that they are a power. They possess the strength, the potentialities of which they have not yet realised, and if only they will take their affairs in their own hands and stand together united, there is no power that can resist their will'.

As a leader possessing a wide and enviable vision, Mr. Jinnah also drew attention of the Muslims to the economic, social and educational programme laid down by the All-India Muslim League, for he said:

"It is the economic and social uplift and education of the people that constitutes the true foundation of a nation or community".

He clearly defined the objectives for which the League was fighting by asserting :

"Muslims have made it clear more than once that besides the question of religion, culture, language and personal laws, there is another question equally of life and death for them and that their future destiny and fate are dependent upon their securing definitely their political rights, their due share in the national life, the government and the administration of the country. They will fight for it till the last ditch and all the dreams and notions of Hindu Raj must be abandoned. They will not be submerged or dominated and they will not surrender so long as there is life in them".

MUSLIM LEAGUE

These were soul-stirring words and the delegates who heard them returned home to spread the message of courage and hope among the Muslims to carry on the great struggle for freedom.

For the first time, after about two hundred years of alien domination and suppression, the Muslims of Bengal had regained just a little of the rights and power which belonged to them and of which they had been cheated. The Muslim League-dominated Ministry in Bengal was an eye-sore to the Congress and Hindus, as it went against the Congress claim to be representative of all India. They moved heaven and earth and resorted to all conceivable methods to dislodge the Ministry including offers of bribe to members of the Assembly to cross the floor. We, the Muslim League members, worked day and night to defeat the Congress designs and on August 11, 1938, I was able to report to Mr. Jinnah the failure of the Congress motion of no-confidence against the Ministry as follows:

"The dark clouds that covered the political horizon of Bengal have at last cleared, leaving the present Cabinet and its supporters victorious. The opposition was so mercilessly battered and beaten that they did not even venture to call a division on the remaining nine motions of no-confidence. Those who were interested in keeping this Government living had to pass through restless days and nights. The relief is very great this morning to such people. I, for one, did not care so much about the fate of the Ministers themselves if they were defeated but worried almost to madness about the effect that such a defeat would have on the Mussalmans in the other provinces of India. This victory by us in Bengal should strengthen the hands of the Muslim League both in Sind and in the North-Western Frontier".

That I was right in expressing this opinion is proved by the fact that on hearing of the announcement over the Radio of the rejection of the no-confidence motion, the Muslims of different places outside Bengal such as Kanpur took out processions to express their joy and thankfulness over the victory of the League Ministry. The tide of Congress totalitarianism which seemed to be sweeping everything before it was effectively checked.

Though the Coalition Ministry, with the Muslim League as its dominant element, had survived the Congress onslaught, we realised that the Muslim League Party inside the legislature was not organised on a sound and stable footing. We held a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board which decided to form regular Muslim League parties in the Lower and Upper Houses of the Bengal Legislature and approved the rules and regulations of the Party. As the position of the Ministry became stable, about 75 per cent of the Muslim members of the two Houses joined the Muslim League Party. With regard to the

MUSLIM LEAGUE

These were soul-stirring words and the delegates who heard them returned home to spread the message of courage and hope among the Muslims to carry on the great struggle for freedom.

For the first time, after about two hundred years of alien domination and suppression, the Muslims of Bengal had regained just a little of the rights and power which belonged to them and of which they had been cheated. The Muslim League-dominated Ministry in Bengal was an eye-sore to the Congress and Hindus, as it went against the Congress claim to be representative of all India. They moved heaven and earth and resorted to all conceivable methods to dislodge the Ministry including offers of bribe to members of the Assembly to cross the floor. We, the Muslim League members, worked day and night to defeat the Congress designs and on August 11, 1938, I was able to report to Mr. Jinnah the failure of the Congress motion of no-confidence against the Ministry as follows:

"The dark clouds that covered the political horizon of Bengal have at last cleared, leaving the present Cabinet and its supporters victorious. The opposition was so mercilessly battered and beaten that they did not even venture to call a division on the remaining nine motions of no-confidence. Those who were interested in keeping this Government living had to pass through restless days and nights. The relief is very great this morning to such people. I, for one, did not care so much about the fate of the Ministers themselves if they were defeated but worried almost to madness about the effect that such a defeat would have on the Mussalmans in the other provinces of India. This victory by us in Bengal should strengthen the hands of the Muslim League both in Sind and in the North-Western Frontier".

That I was right in expressing this opinion is proved by the fact that on hearing of the announcement over the Radio of the rejection of the no-confidence motion, the Muslims of different places outside Bengal such as Kanpur took out processions to express their joy and thankfulness over the victory of the League Ministry. The tide of Congress totalitarianism which seemed to be sweeping everything before it was effectively checked.

Though the Coalition Ministry, with the Muslim League as its dominant element, had survived the Congress onslaught, we realised that the Muslim League Party inside the legislature was not organised on a sound and stable footing. We held a meeting of the Provincial Parliamentary Board which decided to form regular Muslim League Parties in the Lower and Upper Houses of the Bengal Legislature and approved the rules and regulations of the Party. As the position of the Ministry became stable, about 75 per cent of the Muslim members of the two Houses joined the Muslim League Party. With regard to the

position of the Muslim League Party vis-a-vis the Coalition, Mr. Jinnah in his letter dated April 20, 1939, clearly defined it as follows:

"The time has come when there should be only one party and that is the Muslim League Party so far as the Mussalmans are concerned, and I cannot imagine of a coalition between the Muslim League Party and any other Mussalman individual or group of Mussalmans or a party of Mussalmans so far as the political life of the Mussalmans of India is concerned."

The Second World War broke out on September 3, 1939. It naturally had far-reaching repercussions on the political situation in India. The Congress thought it to be a God-sent opportunity to corner the British Government and wrench from it an immediate declaration of independence of their conception and the convening of a Constituent Assembly, dominated by the Hindu majority, for framing the Constitution in exchange for promise of Congress support for prosecution of the war effort. The Congress manoeuvre miscarried, for no such declaration was ever made. The Muslim League took a realistic stand. I shall quote a portion of the League Working Committee's resolution on the War situation passed on September 18, 1939:

"While the Muslim League stands for the freedom of India, the Committee urges upon His Majesty's Government and asks for assurance that no declaration regarding the question of constitutional advance for India should be made without the consent and approval of the All-India Muslim League nor any constitution be framed and finally adopted by His Majesty's Government and the British Parliament without such consent and approval If full, effective and honourable co-operation of the Mussalmans is desired by the British Government in the grave crisis which is facing the world today and if it is desired to bring it to a successful termination, it must create a sense of security and satisfaction amongst the Mussalmans and take into confidence the Muslim League which is the only organisation that can speak on behalf of Muslim India".

The Premiers of the Punjab and Bengal, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan and Mr. Fazlul Haq, were both parties to this resolution as it was passed in their presence and with their support. The Working Committee authorised the President, Mr. Jinnah, to carry on negotiations with the Viceroy with a view to seek clarification and satisfaction of the points raised by the Committee before giving assurance of support and co-operation on behalf of the Mussalmans of India.

In his desire to curry favour with the British authorities, Mr. Fazlul Haq attempted to go beyond the scope of the Muslim League's resolution by giving unconditional assurance of support to the British Government in the prosecution of the war. As Chief Minister, he gave notice of the following resolution to be moved in the Bengal Assembly:

"This Assembly associates itself with the world-wide abhorrence of the aggressive and ruthless methods pursued by totalitarian Governments in

Europe and declares its complete sympathy with the British Government for taking up arms against Nazi Germany in the defence of democracy and of the right of self-determination of the smaller and weaker nations which are now at the mercy of a few powerful and aggressive dictator-ridden states and cannot, unaided, maintain their territorial integrity. This Assembly, therefore, authorises Government to assure the Government of India full co-operation and support in the successful prosecution of the war. This Assembly further authorises the Government to convey to His Majesty's Government that in consonance with the aims of the present war, as declared by that Government and understood by India and consistent with the accepted ideal of the British Empire as a Commonwealth of free nations, the attainment by India of the status of a Dominion as defined in the Statute of Westminster which is the declared policy of the British Government, should be implemented immediately on the termination of the war and the New Constitution formulated, should provide sufficient and effective safeguards for the recognised minorities and interests and should be based upon their full consent and approval".

The notice of this resolution deeply perturbed the genuine Muslim Leaguers as it was at variance with the declared policy of the Muslim League and it would, so we felt, weaken the hands of the League President in negotiating terms with the Viceroy. In my letter to Mr. Jinnah dated December 12, 1939, I informed him that we had tabled the following amendment to the official resolution:

"In view of the fact that His Excellency the Governor-General has not yet been pleased to clarify and explain certain points regarding Muslim interests as demanded by the Resolution of the Muslim League held on October 22, 1939, in Delhi, this Assembly is of the opinion that discussion on the Government Resolution proposed by the Honourable Chief Minister be postponed until the Muslim League has come to a final decision on the subject".

The amendment was admitted by the Speaker and was to be moved by Abdur Rahman Siddiqui. I told Mr. Jinnah that we were determined to force the issue, even though we would be defeated.

Our determination, however, caused a flutter in the ministerial dovecots. At first the majority in the Coalition Party led by Fazlul Haq would not allow us to move the amendment. But since a Hindu Minister, Nalini Ranjan Sarkar, claimed and was allowed freedom to follow his own conscience regarding the Resolution, we too insisted on permission to move our amendment and our demand eventually was conceded by the majority. The rest of the story is best narrated in my letter to Mr. Jinnah dated December 16, 1939:

"All night and all yesterday morning the Muslim members of the Cabinet were busy in appealing to Rahman & Co. to abstain from moving the amendment. We, of course, refused as we maintained with sincerity and justification that such a Resolution should not have been moved by Government as it lowered your prestige and the dignity of the League and prejudiced your negotiations with the Viceroy. Thus Fazlul Haq & Co., were cornered and

brought to their knees. The outcome of our tactics was an unequivocal and clean declaration by him in his speech that he stood ready to receive and act on the command of the League".

Accordingly, Fazlul Haq in the course of his speech on the Resolution made the following declaration on the floor of the House:

"If at any time it so happens that the President of the Muslim League were to declare for any reason that the Muslims of India ought not to co-operate with Great Britain, I can make the position absolutely clear that when there is a conflict between my position in the Cabinet and my membership of the Muslim League, I shall allow the claim of the Muslim League to prevail. I would not be for a single moment in the Cabinet if I am asked by my community to come out".

Having gained our point and not wishing to create a rift in the Party, we decided not to move the amendment. Mr. Jinnah in his letter to me dated December 26, 1939 said:

"On the whole I am glad that Bengal has done fairly well, at any rate in getting the statement from the Premier, a copy of which you have enclosed with your letter"

As I have stated before, the Congress leaders believed that they could use the war situation to coerce the British Government into conceding their demands. They were chagrined when the British did not yield. The Congress High Command then directed the Congress Ministries to resign in protest, which they did. Naturally the exit of the Congress Ministries came as a relief to the Muslims and other minorities who had suffered under Congress rule. On December 2, 1939, Mr. Jinnah issued a statement appealing to the Muslims "to observe Friday December 22, 1939 as the 'Day of Deliverance' and thanksgiving as a mark of relief that the Congress regime has at last ceased to function". In spite of our strong feelings against the Congress Ministries and their doings, some of us thought that his edict about observance of Deliverance Day was inappropriate. On December 12, 1939, I wrote to Mr. Jinnah:

"I shall be doing my conscience wrong if I do not state that your direction for the observance of the day of rejoicing for deliverance from Congress rule gave a rude shock. I did not expect such a command from you, because you have all along kept politics on a very high and strong pedestal. The order was bereft of your fighting spirit. I, however, felt that some strong reason must have driven you to issue your command for the observance of this Day".

In his reply Mr. Jinnah referred me to his statement issued subsequently, explaining in detail the circumstances and reasons which

led him to appeal for the observance of the Deliverance Day. I must admit that he had made a convincing case for the step he had taken and the enthusiasm and alacrity with which the Muslims and even non-Muslim minorities observed the Day showed that he was a better judge of the mind and feeling of his people than any of us. It proved a very effective form of demonstration. The misdeeds of the Congress were exposed and its claim to represent the whole of India was belied. I wrote to Mr. Jinnah on January 25, 1940, as follows:

"The Day of Deliverance was observed as suggested by you and to that extent, those who thought otherwise have been proven to be mistaken".

As the War progressed, the Government of India were anxious to obtain popular support for their campaign to raise funds and recruit men for the Armed Forces. They directed the Provincial Governments to form Provincial and District War Committees. In reply to the Viceroy's appeal for help in the prosecution of the War, my leader issued a statement on May 27, 1940, explaining the League's stand:

"Uptil the present moment, we have not created any difficulty, nor have we embarrassed the British Government in the prosecution of the war. The provinces, where the Muslim League has a dominant voice, have been left free to co-operate with the British Government pending their consideration with regard to the assurances we have asked for, in particular that the British Government should make no declaration regarding the future constitutional problems of India and the vital issues that have been raised in that connection without our approval and consent. Nevertheless, without prejudice to the adjustment of the larger issues later, we were even willing as far back as November last to consider the proposal of the Viceroy to bring about an honourable and workable adjustment in the provincial field which would have been followed up with our representatives being appointed to the Executive Council of the Central Government... to the extent permissible within the framework of the present constitution and existing law. But this proposal was summarily rejected by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress. A similar attempt was again made by His Excellency in early February which met the same fate.... So far we have not declared non-co-operation, nor have we decided to resort to direct action, nor are we preparing to launch civil disobedience at any moment, although we are fully alive to the objective of the Congress which is to force the British hand to throw Muslim India once more to the tender mercies of the Congress.... With regard to Mr. Amery's statement and the broadcast appeal of His Excellency the Viceroy may I say that it is up to the British Government to show trust in Muslim leadership—and there are many ways of doing so—and as confident friends seek our whole-hearted co-operation and we shall not fail".

The League Working Committee at its meeting at Bombay on June 15, 16 and 17, 1940, endorsed the above-mentioned statement

of Mr. Jinnah and expressed the view that: "The proposals for the defence of India indicated in the statements of their Excellencies the Viceroy and the Commander-in-Chief as well as the statements of some provincial Governors are wholly inadequate to meet the urgent requirements of the situation. The Committee therefore, authorises its President to enter into communication with His Excellency the Viceroy with a view to explore the possibility of devising prompt and effective measures to mobilise the country's resources for the purpose of intensifying the war effort and the defence of India. The Committee is of the view that unless a satisfactory basis for close co-operation is agreed upon on an All-India basis and not province-wise between the Government and the Muslim League and such other parties as are willing to undertake the responsibility for the defence of the country in the face of imminent danger, the real purpose and objective will not be achieved." With regard to the attitude to be adopted by the members of the Muslim League towards the War Committees, the Working Committee directed that "for the present Mussalmans should not serve on these Committees and should await further instructions from the President pending the result of the communication with the Viceroy".

The directive of the Working Committee was generally followed by the rank and file of the Muslim Leaguers, but the Ministers and their supporters in the Punjab and Bengal showed scant respect to it. In a lengthy letter dated June 21, 1940, I complained bitterly to my leader: "Sikandar and Fazlul Haq are striking out on their own against the direction of the Working Committee in the matter of formation of War Committees. This is, indeed, tragic and intolerable. Statement after statement has been issued to the press by you and others. They are all so contradictory that none of us knows what actually took place in the Working Committee on June 15. Our so-called leaders here, Members of the Cabinet, took it for granted that they would secure the permission of the Working Committee for Leaguers of the province to join the Provincial and District War Committees. On this assumption, names were submitted to the Governor for the various sub-committees and also for the General Committee. Then came the invitation from the Private Secretary of His Excellency to attend a meeting on the 20th instant in the Legislative Assembly Hall. This was followed by your statement clearly calling upon the Muslim Leaguers to abstain from participating in the Committees until such time that you considered necessary. Those of us who believe in discipline and love the League more than our lives, immediately wrote to His Excellency expressing regret at our inability to attend the meeting or to serve on the Committees in view of the

direction of the Muslim League High Command and its President in the matter. A meeting was held. Many Muslims attended and many Muslims did not. The list of members of the various committees prepared and printed a week ago, notwithstanding the many withdrawals from them, was not altered. You will thus find many names on the Committees that should have been struck off. . . . The Working Committee of the Bengal Muslim League met on the night of the 20th instant to consider the awful situation that had arisen in view of your statement on the one hand and the previous commitment of the Ministers here on the other. We argued for two and one half hours. Among the Ministers present were Mr. Fazlul Haq, Sir Nazimuddin and Tamizuddin Khan. Suhrawardy, although in Calcutta, was absent. Sir Nazimuddin told us that Ministers had been exempted. We contended that your statement was clear and categorical and made no exceptions. It was suggested that the Bengal Working Committee pass a resolution asking the Central Working Committee to reconsider its decision, failing which, to requisition a meeting of the All-India Council. These were opposed and it was decided that no resolutions be passed as that would have been worse than the disaster at Bombay. Fazlul Haq went so far as to declare that the Working Committee was all wrong. He had a right to his own view and if it came to that he would have no hesitation in resigning from the League and the Working Committee, for, he felt convinced that in helping the British unreservedly, lay the salvation of the Musslamans in India. Abdur Rahman agreed with him in the matter of his resignation, but it was not forthcoming. May I beg of you to clarify the position and tell those who are still loyal to the League what to do?"

In the same letter I complained to Mr. Jinnah of the objectionable activities of the Punjab Premier, Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan. I said: "Sikandar felt that he was a law unto himself. He thought that he could challenge with impunity both you and the Muslim League High Command. He saw the Congress President in direct opposition to the general instructions of the Working Committee and its President. He is now attempting obviously to bring about a compromise with the Congress for the administration of his province".

In reply to my complaint and inquiry he wrote at length on June 24, 1940, in which he took pains to discuss and explain every point I had raised. In view of its importance I reproduce his letter *in extenso*:



Mount Pleasant Road,
Malabar Hill,
Bombay.

24th June 1940.

PRIVATE & CONFIDENTIAL.

My dear Hassan,

g - I am in receipt of your letter of the 21st inst. The resolution of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League asking the Mussalmans and certainly the leaders not to join the proposed War Committees is quite clear and my contradiction of Sir Sikandar Hayat's statement also leaves no doubt in the matter. The question was discussed at great length and finally the resolution was adopted without a dissent.

What you say in the rest of your letter is receiving my very close attention and I agree with you that the position is intolerable.

My only regret is that Sir Nazimuddin according to the Press report should have said that ministers were exempted. That is not correct. After the resolution was passed Sir Nazimuddin asked me what will be the position of the ministers and I said to him that they must tell the Governors, or through the Governors it must be conveyed to the Viceroy that pending our communication with the Viceroy they should not proceed with the formation of the War Committees. Sir Nazimuddin then said, "supposing we are forced to go on with it, which will leave no alternative than to resign", to which my answer was that if it comes to that we may ask them to resign and that they should communicate to me when that stage is reached. As a matter of fact Fazlul Haq sent a telegram to Sir Nazimuddin that if the Working Committee does not resolve to support the British Government unconditionally we shall have no alternative left but to resign the League. The Working Committee seemed to regret the telegram and the threat conveyed by Fazlul Haq and entirely disapproved of it. Wherefore Sir Nazimuddin thought that this telegram may have been sent by some mischief makers, and withdrew it to get his confirmation and to

-2-



put it before the Working Committee; but it was not placed before the Committee, *again* although it continued its sitting for two more days.

I am fully alive to the situation. You ask me "May I beg of you to clarify the position and tell those that are still loyal to the League what to do." I say, do faithfully and fearlessly what the resolution of the Working Committee enjoins you to do. I feel also that time is coming when the League must be purified at all cost.

I am very glad you wrote to me a frank letter and I thank you for it. I may inform you that I had forwarded the resolution to the Viceroy with a covering letter that if he desired to discuss it any further I will be glad to meet him. In response, I received his letter acknowledging the resolution and the covering letter, and asking me to meet him on the 27th of June. Accordingly I am leaving tomorrow night. After my return it would be for all of us to consider the position seriously both with regard to Sir Sikandar Hayat and Fazlul Haq. *and all other members*

You know that last September at the meeting of the Working Committee both Sir Sikandar Hayat and Fazlul Haq had given me in writing that they would resign the premierships, whenever I called upon them to do so. How far they ^{abide} abide by their solemn word and pledge I do not know.

There is one sentence in your letter which is not quite correct:--

"You, instead of taking strong action against these two for indiscipline actually condoned their offence and confirmed it in the speech you delivered at Hubli."

I did not deliver any speech at Hubli, neither did I refer to any one of them in my message to the Hubli Conference. But I think you may be thinking of my statement which I issued on the 27th of May.



If you read it carefully you will find that it was merely intended to show that the Muslim League so far had not embarrassed the British Government, pending our negotiations with the Viceroy.

The last letter from the Viceroy was written by him on the 19th April, and was placed by me before the Working Committee at Bombay on the 15th, and after consideration of all these matters the final decision was taken up as indicated by the resolution of the 17th June.

Hoping you are well. With kind regards

Yours sincerely,

Hassan Ispahani Esq.,
5, Camac Street
Calcutta.

The League Working Committee took note of Sir Sikandar Hayat's indiscretion in meeting the Congress President and passed the following resolution: "In view of the misunderstanding created by the reports in the Press about the so-called Muslim Premiers Conference with the President of the Congress at Delhi on June 13, 1940, the Working Committee, after the statement of Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan before the Committee to the effect that it was purely an individual meeting at the invitation of Maulana Abul Kalam Azad for an informal talk, resolves that in order to avoid any misunderstanding or misconception in future no member of the Working Committee should enter into any negotiations or discussions with the Congress leaders regarding the question of Hindu-Muslim settlement or any other matter which requires adjustment between the Muslim League and the Congress without the permission of the President".

In the month of July 1940, there were behind-the-scene activities by Sir Sikandar Hayat and his friends to sabotage the official Muslim League policy and undermine the Qaid's leadership. I informed him by my letter of July 20, 1940, that we had learnt of a move by Sir Sikandar to have a meeting of the All-India Muslim League Council called to consider various matters, adding, "I see in this move of Sikandar Hayat, an attempt to bid for the leadership of the League and break up the organisation into two and an inspired leading article

in the 'Statesman' supports the idea". I also wrote: "There are whisperings here that your last interview with the Viceroy failed because you insisted on Liaquat being the representative of the League on his expanded Council". Sir Sikandar Hayat deputed one of his lieutenants, Mr. Amjad Ali* to Calcutta and some others to other provinces, to canvass support for his idea of unconditional support to the British War effort. On August 1, 1940, I wrote to Mr. Jinnah as follows:

"Mr. Amjad Ali, MLA, the son of Muratab Ali, has come here from Lahore to canvass support for the Punjab. Our meeting was called merely with the object of giving Amjad Ali an opportunity to convince us that the Punjab were really the aggrieved party and had to be supported in the stand they have taken up.

You are aware that there are some fellows here who will be only too happy to join hands with Sikandar and his company.

We heard Amjad and after dinner the Working Committee met to discuss the points raised. It was with much tact that another catastrophe was averted and those who wanted to do the mischief were stayed from doing it. The Working Committee passed no resolution in support of sending a requisition on the lines of the Punjab. Some members pressed the view that Leaguers in their individual capacity, in exercise of their rights as laid down in the Constitution, may table a requisition on the lines of the Punjab. We objected and said that such a move would be suicidal to the wider Muslim interests and that we should see that none from Bengal followed the lead of the Punjab. By doing so they would throw this province in the trap prepared by Sikandar Hayat.

I must say that Sir Nazimuddin rose to the occasion and spoke in support. Briefly, by peaceful persuasion we managed to keep the pro-Sikandar party at bay. Fazlul Haq, at whose house this meeting was held, kept out of the room almost the whole time on the excuse of attending to the comforts of his guests. He was dragged into the room in the concluding stages of our deliberation. Between you and I, I feel that he and Shahabuddin (Nazimuddin's brother), with the tacit support of Shaheed, had engineered the whole show. They counted on a pro-Punjab feeling. It turned out otherwise".

To further prove the contention that there was a manoeuvre by the Government of India through her faithful friends like Sir Sikandar Hayat Khan to force the Qaid-e-Azam and the Muslim League to change their war policy or else to isolate them, I may quote an important statement made by the Qaid in June, 1940. In the course of an interview with the representative of *Times of India*, he said:

* At time a staunch Unionist, later a Muslim Leaguer, later still a pillar of the Republican Party and presently Head of Pakistan's Permanent Delegation to the United Nations, an appointee of the present (Convention Muslim League) Government.

"The present ambition and policy of the Congress are suggested in the words of a prominent Congressman: 'Should the international situation worsen appreciably, Britain will make a strong bid for Congress goodwill by trying to meet its demands very much more than half-way. On his present showing, Jinnah will not be over-pleased with the development and would, in all probability, resort to obstruction. Britain will then turn to her faithful friend Sikandar Hayat Khan. Perhaps the good offices and the powerful support of the Aga Khan would also be available. Nor would Fazlul Haq, the Bengal Premier be found unwilling. Jinnah would still be left a good enough following, but then will come to him the tragic realisation, how so many of the Khan Bahadurs and Knights and titled gentry, who are now dancing attendance on him, will drop away in an instant at a sign from the British Government whose creations they are. Jinnah would still be a notable factor, but only a factor, not the sole determinant. A Gandhi-Aga Khan-Sikandar-Fazlul Haq understanding would have a more far-reaching effect than the Lucknow Pact of 1916. Jinnah would either have to toe the line or stand in haughty aloofness, unable to change the course of history.'"

Replying to my letters on August 8, 1940, Mr. Jinnah wrote: "I was very pleased to hear the account of the meeting and specially to note that Nazimuddin rose to the occasion. I hope you are following how quickly the events are developing. If the people will have only a little patience and give us some peace and chance at least for a reasonable period and stand united, I feel that we shall immensely benefit. As regards all sorts of rumours there is absolutely no truth that my last interview with the Viceroy failed for the reasons mentioned in your letter. The negotiations are still proceeding so far satisfactorily.. You must have, by now, read the statement of the Viceroy on behalf of His Majesty's Government."

The most important part of the Viceroy's statement dated August 8, 1940, from the Muslim point of view was the following paragraph:

"His Majesty's Government's concern that full weight should be given to the views of the minorities in any revision, has also been brought out. That remains the position of His Majesty's Government. It goes without saying that they could not contemplate the transfer of their present responsibilities for the peace and welfare of India to any system of Government whose authority is directly denied by large and powerful elements in India's national life. Nor could they be parties to the coercion of such elements into submission to such a Government."

Mr. Amery, Secretary of State for India, elaborating the statement said that

"the foremost among these elements stands the great Muslim community of ninety million strong and constituting a majority both in the North-Western and North-Eastern India."

* Quoted in Speeches and Statements of the Jinnah collected by Jami-ud-Din Ahmad.

I wrote to him on August 27, 1940: "The whole of Muslim India is looking to you for a definite lead and I sincerely trust that it will not be long before it is forthcoming. . . . I am quite confident that unless you have the fullest assurances and are thoroughly satisfied, you will not throw the whole-hearted support of the community in the prosecution of the war."

The flames of the War were spreading and it was apprehended that Muslim countries might be engulfed. The Council of the All-India Muslim League on September 29, 1940, resolved: "in view of the probability of aggression by foreign powers against the independence and sovereignty of the Muslim countries, to authorise the President to fix a day for the purpose of expressing and demonstrating deep sympathy and concern of Muslim India with Muslim countries and also conveying to those who have any such design that in the event of any attack upon Muslim countries, Muslim India will be forced to stand by them and give all the support to them." Mr. Jinnah accordingly fixed Friday November 1, 1940, the *Jumat-ul-Wida* of Ramazan, as the day for holding special prayers and public meetings to express Muslim India's sympathy and concern for the Muslim countries. In pursuance of this directive, we, in Calcutta, held a mammoth public meeting to demonstrate our sympathy for the Muslim countries and declare our resolve to render them all possible help in the event of aggression against them.

According to the directive of the All-India Muslim League March 23, 1941, being the anniversary of the adoption of the Pakistan Resolution, was to be observed as Pakistan Day throughout the country. The Muslim League Ministers in Bengal, however, for reasons of their own, did not want the Provincial League to celebrate the Day. On March 22, there appeared a statement purporting to be a telegram sent by the President of the Provincial League calling upon the Muslims throughout the province not to observe the Day. It said: "In view of possible misunderstanding and danger to communal harmony owing to recent riots, Provincial Muslim League decided not to hold Pakistan meetings twentythird. Request you to comply." On March 26, 1941, I wrote to Shaheed Suhrawardy, Secretary of the Provincial League, inquiring as to when and by whom this decision was taken, pointing out that it was *ultra vires* as it contravened the mandate of the All-India Muslim League and requested him to call an urgent meeting of the Working Committee of the Provincial League to consider the seriousness of the situation. I added in my letter: "The fact that the Mussalmans of Calcutta observed Pakistan Day in spite of the orders issued by the Provincial President is significant

and indicates the direction towards which Muslim public opinion is being driven. Any repetition of such a dictatorial attitude will mean disaster." I forwarded to my great leader a copy of my letter to Suhrawardy and also wrote as follows: "It will perhaps come to you as a surprise that the President of the Bengal Provincial League is also the President of the Nikhil Banga Proja Krishak Samiti. In view of the coming election, this gentleman has circulated notices to all Districts, sub-divisions, towns, thanas and unions to gird up their loins and prepare themselves to fight for the rights of the peasants. It is also rumoured that the President of the Nikhil Banga Krishak Samiti is carrying on secret negotiations with the rump of the Congress Party which calls itself the Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party led by Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose. You have got to put your foot down and demand a clarification forthwith as, in my humble opinion, allowing Mr. Fazlul Haq to ruin the Muslim cause in Bengal at this critical juncture would be disastrous."

In his reply dated April 4, 1941, Mr. Jinnah asked me to send him a copy of the notice circulated by Mr. Fazlul Haq to the districts and sub-divisions and added: "In the meantime do you not think it is for the Bengal Mussalmans to put their foot down and demand clarification of the dual position that Mr. Fazlul Haq has taken up?" The Meeting of the Provincial League Working Committee was eventually called on April 3, 1941.

The meeting was held. The members expressed themselves strongly against disregarding the mandate of the All-India Muslim League. No resolution was passed but it was the general opinion that directives received from the Centre should be carried out.

Mr. Haq continued to play a double game. While remaining a member of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League and President of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, he issued a string of statements which ran counter to the policy of the League. He tried to browbeat the Calcutta District Muslim League for passing resolutions unpalatable to him but his own Working Committee did not support him. He then beat a retreat. On June 12, 1941, I wrote to Mr. Jinnah: "Knowing Fazlul Haq as we do, it is best to give him a long rope. He is bound to hang himself, sooner or later. He cannot keep a consistent and true course for long. He is bound to slip and slip badly and it will then be time to deal him a death blow." I also posed a question: "Has the time come when the League should keep itself independent of Cabinets, for the Ministers should be the executors of the policy laid down by the League. In case of deviation,

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM

they should be brought to the bar of the League to explain their conduct. Today, they join in initiating the policy and thereafter they torpedo it without the least compunction. This is not as it should be."

In August 1941, the British authorities made a well-planned attack to break up the solidarity of the All-India Muslim League. The general line of the Muslim League policy during the War was that it could take no part in the war effort without a share in the power and responsibility of the Government. As such, the League has decided that none of its members could accept any position in any body or agency concerned with the war effort, unless the League, as a body, decided upon co-operation. The Viceroy had, till then, held negotiations with the President of the Muslim League and was well aware of its policy; yet in August 1941, without reference to the President of the League or its Executive, the Viceroy secretly issued invitations to the Muslim Chief Ministers telling them that they were being appointed members of the Defence Council in their capacity as Chief Ministers and that they should keep this a secret. But the message sent by the Viceroy through the Governor of Bombay, Sir Roger Lumly, to Mr. Jinnah after the invitations had been issued stated that the Muslim Chief Ministers had been included in the Defence Council to represent 'the great Muslim community'. On receipt of the message he immediately called a meeting of the Working Committee at which the Viceroy's message was brought to the notice of the members. Sir Sikandar Hayat (Punjab) and Sir Mohammad Saadullah (Assam) resigned from the Defence Council. Mr. Fazlul Haq demurred, asked for time and then resigned both from the Defence Council and the League. The offensive letter that he wrote to the Secretary of the League has been dealt with elsewhere.

Referring to the Working Committee's meetings on August 24, 25 and 26, 1941, at which decisions were taken against Muslim Leaguers joining the Viceroy's expanded Executive Council and Defence Council, I wrote to Mr. Jinnah as follows: "Believe me, the Musslamans of India have been heartened by the stand that the Working Committee took up in its meeting. The Musslamans walk with their heads upright because their political organisation can now shun title-holders and no longer respects titular heads."

While the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League sat at Delhi considering Mr. Fazlul Haq's letter of explanation dated November 14, 1941, I wrote to the Qaid about the surreptitious activities of certain elements in the Bengal Muslim League who, for selfish reasons, were trying to queer the pitch for the All-India body.

I said: "Yesterday evening, while we were waiting in the house of the Nawab of Dacca for the decision of the Working Committee, Shahabuddin, who was the Chief Whip of the Coalition Party and was naturally interested in the continuance of the Government, suggested that we should telephone Delhi and press for the acceptance of Fazlul Haq's letter as sufficient apology. Our group refused point-blank and told them that as we considered the Working Committee to be a body of intelligent men and you were its President, it would be an open insult to offer them unsolicited directions. . . Some minutes later, Shahabuddin came forth with a more astounding statement that in case the Working Committee rejected the letter as unsatisfactory, it was his considered opinion that we should make it see reason and to act on our advice as the whole dispute related to our province. You may be sure that I did not leave unsaid anything that was worth saying. I told the meeting that the suggestion of Shahabuddin struck at the root of discipline and could not, therefore, be given a second consideration—that the League was an All-India political organisation and not an association of time-servers and self-seekers and made it clear to them that I, for one, would declare open war and felt confident that even in Bengal, I would not be left single-handed to fight the battle that must necessarily result if such a step is taken. So, no suggestions or threats were telephoned to Delhi."

The Working Committee decided to accept Mr. Haq's letter of explanation and reaffirmation of loyalty to the League and to treat the matter as closed. I welcomed the decision in a press statement and appealed that "there should be a stop to recriminations in the press over the topic now buried. If good faith is maintained in this respect, I am sure of the cohesion and stability which the nation requires at the present juncture." On November 20, 1941, I was able to report to the Qaid: "There seems to be peace in the Province. The issuing of statements and counter-statements has been given a holiday. I am told that the '*Naya Jug*' (Mr. Haq's paper) too, is not as vulgar as it used to be."

The peace, however, did not last long. As I anticipated, Mr. Fazlul Haq had temporarily made peace with the All-India Muslim League to gain time for the purpose of dealing a blow to the Muslim League in Bengal, form an anti-League Ministry with himself as the titular Chief Minister. I accordingly informed my leader by my letter dated November 29, : "Well, Sir, what I expected has happened. I have been once again prophetic in my anticipation. Fazlul Haq has cheated all and has gained his object. He played for time and our clever wisemen played into his hands." On November 26, there was



A section of the mammoth gathering at the Patna session of the League.

By Courtesy of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah

“Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims, especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia. Unfortunately, it is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims, it is rampant. However, it is a phase that we have to face and make every effort to eradicate and purify our society”

Qaid-e-Azam's letter to the author,
dated May 6, 1945.

a meeting of the Coalition Party minus the so-called Progressive Party formed by Mr. Fazlul Haq. After some time, he arrived and his followers looked dejected. He and Mr. Suhrawardy were closetted in an ante-room. Re-entering the meeting room, Mr. Haq made the following statement: "I am happy to meet you all. I am making a proposal that I am sure will gladden your hearts and burn the hearts of our enemies. I propose an adjournment of the Assembly tomorrow for a week in order that I may compose differences that are unfortunately still left un-composed. I do not doubt that I will have your support in achieving this aim, for with amity and concord reestablished, we will face any one or several groups." The members agreed.

This was, however, only a ruse. Mr. Haq was working simultaneously to form another coalition. As I wrote to the Qaid on the 29th: "We woke up this morning to be faced by a *fait accompli*—a coalition between Haq, Bose, Congress, Proja and the Independent Scheduled Caste. Haq asked for time, not to bring back his men to the fold of the Coalition, but to fix up with Wardha. The mandate reached Calcutta last night and so, out came the conspiracy that has been hatched for many months. It seems that we have been out manoeuvred. Our top men now stand exhausted. Haq has betrayed them, the Coalition and the Musslamans of the Province. The four and one half years Muslim uplift will now be checked. Unfortunate are the Musslamans of Bengal. . . Now the war is on. Haq has gained a tactical advantage. However, our cause is just and Allah will help us. Please be ready to help. We shall fight, Inshallah, to the last man."

After Mr. Fazlul Haq's betrayal of the Muslim League and dissolution of the Cabinet, we proceeded to form a Muslim League Party consisting of the genuine Muslim League members of the legislature and to elect a leader. To avoid canvassing and factionalism a new procedure was adopted. Mr. Abdul Momin, a respected elder, was appointed the presiding officer. No names were proposed. Members cast their votes by secret ballot for whomsoever they pleased. The presiding officer, after counting the votes, just announced the name of the person who had secured the highest number of votes without disclosing the other names and the votes cast for them. Khwaja Nazimuddin was thus elected leader. The Nawab of Dacca, Khwaja Habibullah, who was an aspirant for the leadership at this stage betrayed the Muslim League and joined hands with Mr. Haq. We then settled down to real hard work as the main party in opposition. On December 15, 1941, I wrote to Qaid as follows: "I am more than ever confident that we shall, within a short period, retrieve our position gloriously and shall come back stronger, healthier and more determined

than ever before. A bloated party, full of self-interested people, must one day burst. This is what has happened to the Muslim League here. We have been given an opportunity for separating the grain from the chaff and for differentiating between the true Leaguer and the person who was a Leaguer for his own convenience and benefit. There is no necessity for despair.... Fazlul Haq will not get away with his treachery. He may be in power one, two, three, four or five months, but his day of reckoning will never-the-less come and that day is not too far off. He thinks he will bring in peace and prosperity by joining hands with the very people who cursed and opposed the Mussalmans from every conceivable platform in the province. The coalition in power today is ill-conceived and is something hideous and unnatural. Heterogeneous elements are bound to pull in different directions and very soon one or the other will have to break away for reasons of self-preservation." The Muslim League was thus brought closer to the people. This proved to be its real source of strength.

We then launched a vigorous propaganda campaign by holding big public rallies in Calcutta and other towns and districts of the province to acquaint the people with the issues involved in the political battle and Mr. Fazlul Haq's betrayal of the Muslim cause. Muslim leaders—Nazimuddin, Suhrawardy, Akram Khan, Abdul Momin, Tamizuddin Khan—toured the province and addressed meetings. Muslim students joined the campaign and played a heroic part in propagating the League's message and exposing Mr. Haq. The people's response was enthusiastic and heartening. Mr. Haq resorted to threats against the Muslim League workers and newspapers supporting the League but no one was deterred by the threats. He too ventured out on a tour to counter our campaign. I wrote in this connection to the Qaid on February 14, 1941, as follows: "Haq ventured out with his circus. The first place on his programme was Barisal, his stronghold in the Province. He was met by big black flag demonstrations all along the route and I am told he had to order police intervention at most of the stations. He had on his train, a substantial police force. At Barisal the students forced an 'address' on him which was full of his condemnation for having sold the Muslims of Bengal to the arch-enemy—the Mahasabha. He closed his ears. Many students were arrested. He got up to address the meeting but did not speak for more than three or four minutes and sat down saying that his voice had failed him! He left Calcutta with the mandate of the Cabinet to give, on behalf of Government, extensive agricultural loans to the cultivators whose possessions had been completely wiped out by the havoc of the last cyclone. Yet he could not muster courage to go there. He is trying to muzzle the *Azad*.... We are willing to stand the persecution

Muslim League. 1941

Page 176, line 29 read 'January 14, 1942', instead of 'February 14, 1941'.

Page 177, line 1 read 'letter' instead of 'reply'.

and grandeur beat all previous records. The Conference at 1941.

MUSLIM LEAGUE THE MASSES
come what may."* The Qaid in his reply dated January 11, 1942, said: "I am glad that you are all working. I am sure of the success, if you will all work as a team. I quite agree with you that ours is a good cause and it is only a question of time." Again on January 19, he wrote: "I am very pleased to hear of the enormous support that the Muslim League is receiving."

It was decided to hold the Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference at Serajgunj and to invite the Qaid-e-Azam to visit Bengal and address the Conference. He fixed February 12 for his arrival in Calcutta and February 14 and 15 for the Conference. On arrival, he was accorded a public reception which in point of enthusiasm, numbers and grandeur beat all previous records. The Conference at Serajgunj, a small town and sub-divisional headquarter, was attended by thousands of people from rural areas and was a magnificent success. The Qaid made a fighting speech to which reference has been made elsewhere. The Serajgunj Conference was a turning point in the Muslim struggle in Bengal. From then on, the League moved forward by leaps and bounds till it brought down the Haq-Shyama Prasad Ministry a year later.

Mr. Fazlul Haq gave vent to his vindictiveness against the Muslim Press by ordering the *Star of India* to suspend publication for one week from the 27th of April, because in its issue of the 20th, it published resolutions of the Bengal Provincial Muslim League, one of which related to the outrage on Muslim women by Sikh soldiers in Feni. Within three days Mr. Haq's Government had to withdraw the order unconditionally after his attempts to exact an apology or undertaking from the staff of the newspaper had failed.

By July 1942, Mr. Fazlul Haq appeared to have been overtaken by a sense of remorse over his political misdeeds and the harm he had done both to himself and to his fellow Muslims. He began to cast feelers and make approaches. On July 3, I wrote to the Qaid as under:—

"Some days ago Prince Dillan, the younger brother of the Nawab of Rampur but a strong Muslim Leaguer, met me and in a general way stated that he

*The demonstrations against Mr. Fazlul Haq were not confined to Bengal. When he left Calcutta for Delhi to attend the meeting of the Defence Council there were demonstrations against him all along the way. Mr. Jamiluddin Ahmad, formerly Lecturer at the Aligarh Muslim University, who was an eye-witness of the scene states that the students of the University who had lionised him when he had passed through Aligarh after the Congress motion against his Ministry had been defeated in 1938, mobbed his compartment and subjected him to a gruelling demonstration from which he was rescued by some members of the staff.

was sent for from Patna by one of Fazlul Haq's nephews, an intimate friend of his, and told that the old man was just about sick of every thing and the guilt of victory over his past colleagues having worn out, and with his experience of being taken advantage of by his powerful Hindu colleagues, he wanted to make his peace with you and with the Muslim nation.

Yesterday, Dillan again came to me and told me that Haq wanted him to arrange a meeting with me as he desired to have a heart to heart talk. He asked me not to refuse this request as he hoped that something good may result for the community. I, at first, refused but as he persisted, agreed. We met in Dillan's house last night at seven and talked freely for an hour and half.

He narrated the whole story of the rift, his suspicions of attempts being made to unsaddle him, the clique that worked a web around him—the break, the struggle for the 'Call by H.E. to form the Cabinet', his success, the difficulties faced by him; the pressure on him by his Hindu colleagues, the desire to call the whole thing off, to make peace with you and the League, to return to it, to dissolve the Progressive Party, the Progressive Muslim League, to break the Progressive Coalition Party and Cabinet now functioning in the province and to reconstruct it as is considered advisable by you. He swore that he wanted to see you and that he feared rough handling and it is this that has kept him away from seeing you. I assured him that whilst not guaranteeing what you would do or ask to be done as a *sine qua non* of the 'Peace declaration', I guaranteed him that he would receive from you, as before and as you in your greatness accord to every Mussalman, a cordial and friendly welcome. He asked me, as a special favour to accompany him or to go a day ahead of him to Bombay. I said that I did not want to be made a fool of but if he were serious, I would gladly travel with him on the same train and notwithstanding my many commitments here, I would gladly sacrifice my time and money and go to Bombay. He said he was serious. We fixed the 4th as the day of our departure by the Jubbulpore Mail.

Unfortunately you are out of town. Please let me know where you are and what is your programme, by Express telegram."

I learnt later that the Qaid was on a short visit to Bhopal and would return to Bombay on July 9. I again wrote to him on July 7, as under:

"Since I last wrote to you, Dillan has met me several times calling for and receiving clarification. He asked me if I desired to meet Haq again. I told him that as I could not deliver the goods, constant meeting would not improve matters in any way.

Now from what I can gauge, the essence of his game is the revival of the old stunt, his stunt and John Herbert's* ambition, to have a National Cabinet. He wants to emulate the Viceroy in following his policy of

*Sir John Herbert was Governor of Bengal.

expansion. He wants to add to his Cabinet three or so Muslim Leaguers. I had it conveyed to him that if this is his game, it is futile to think of a settlement or forgiveness. We cannot allow ourselves for the sake of a few inconsequential seats in the Cabinet, to be bribed and bought; allow ourselves to be muzzled in the province; to stop our agitation in the province; to relax the hold that we have created on the Mussalmans of Bengal; to allow Fazlul Haq to regain his position among the Mussalmans of Bengal. No Sir; nothing doing.

His reply is this:—Let me meet Mr. Jinnah. I shall convince him that if there is to be a 'Muslim League' Government this is the only way. Otherwise, the Hindus will join hands and back the Nawab of Dacca and finish us all.

My reply to his last argument was, nonsense. If Haq plus Dacca have been brought to their knees by the weight of Muslim public opinion in seven short months, how long will Dacca alone stand? His influence is zero. When he betrayed the League for a Ministership and the lucre that it carries, he was unable to take away a single member from our Party. This was his influence then. Today his power is on the minus side!

Haq says 'I shall convince Mr. Jinnah. If I fail to do so, I shall abide by whatever he decides in the matter.' He told this to me and he told this to Dillan four times. Both Dillan and I consider that this is a lip undertaking and reliance should not be placed upon it.

In these circumstances, bearing in mind that your time and my time and money are precious, will it be worth our while to encourage Haq to see you? If nothing comes off, then this thoroughly unreliable man may issue a fresh statement damning the League and saying how dictatorial you were and add any cursed nonsense or lie to it. The statement may not cut ice with anyone because even every Hindu will disbelieve it although the Press will utilise it for the benefit of the Anti-Muslim forces in this country.

However, it is for you to decide after considering carefully the pros and cons. An Express telegram from you will be appreciated. Just the word 'Come' will be construed as 'Bring Haq with you'. 'Don't come' will mean to me 'Do not bother. It will be sheer waste of time'."

On July 13, I received the following telegraphic message from the Qaid in reply to my letters:

"Futile unless he prepared dissociate himself from his party, withdraws all allegations, submits discipline Muslim League in writing as condition precedent."

The same afternoon I had a telephonic conversation with Mr. Jinnah. I immediately noted down the gist of the conversation which is reproduced below:

"It is useless to bring him to Bombay because it may unnecessarily lead to statements and counter statements—League being dictatorial etc., etc."

The *sine qua non* of his meeting Mr. Haq are:

- (1) That Haq should dissociate himself from the Progressive Party and the Progressive Muslim League.
- (2) Withdraw all the allegations made by him against the President, Working Committee and the Muslim League.
- (3) Submit to the discipline of the All-India League.

These must be given in writing to me.

If the above conditions are fulfilled, we may proceed at once to Bombay and Haq is assured that he will get a most sympathetic hearing, will be re-admitted and his grievances against individuals in Bengal will be looked into and everything will be well again.

The League cannot negotiate with any individual, big or small, who is in the camp of the enemy. He quoted Subhas Bose, going to England and negotiating with Churchill. The result would only be—arrest and trial for treason.

Mr. Jinnah will be in Bombay and will cancel his engagements to meet Haq if the above terms are fulfilled.

I asked—‘Suppose Haq goes to Bombay and in your presence complies with your three terms in person, have you any objection to my leaving for Bombay with him?’

He replied ‘If he can comply in my presence, he can more readily comply in my absence giving you just a few lines before you people leave for Bombay. He may expect a fair and square deal from me and my colleagues.’

I had the Qaid’s terms and conditions conveyed to Mr. Haq and wrote to the former on July 15, 1942, as follows:

“It seems that he may give me the required letter if I give him the verbal assurance on my own that I shall only publish the letter if he issues a prejudicial statement after the meeting with you resulting in no settlement. He seems to be more than confident that he will convince you and will come to an agreement with you regarding Bengal and continues to declare that if he fails he will accept your decision. He may be sincere and still I doubt his sincerity.”

The Qaid replied:

“The sincerity and honesty of Mr. Fazlul Haq can only be tested by one action which is a condition precedent that he should dissociate himself with the party to which he belongs and which coalition party is of his own creation and is inimical to the Muslim League.”

I again wrote to him asking for further clarification of his attitude. In his letter of August 1, 1942, a photostat copy of which is reproduced below, Qaid-e-Azam fully explained his position:

MOUNT PLEASANT ROAD,
MALABAR HILL.

1st August 1942



My dear Hassan,

I am in receipt of your letter of the 27th of July and I really cannot understand you. If Mr. Fazlul Haq writes to me a letter to the effect that he is ready and willing to dissociate himself from the party of which he is the leader and to withdraw all allegations against the Muslim League and to submit to the discipline of the All-India Muslim League, then he must carry out his assurance, if after further discussion I am of opinion that he should do so, and he fails to convince me of any other course. But otherwise if he declines to abide by the assurance embodied in this letter, then what is the use of such a letter at all, and our meeting?

It seems that he wants to see me and negotiate with me as an emissary or representative of the parties and organisation of which he is the head just at present. That party is in our judgment inimical to the Muslim League and Muslim India. We have already judged him as a traitor. How can you expect me to start negotiations with him so long as he remains associated with that party? You may as well imagine Lord Haw Haw asking Mr. Churchill for an interview to negotiate on behalf of his German friends. The first thing, therefore, is that he must dissociate himself from the party of which he is the head -- a party which is inimical to the Muslim League, he being a deserter. After he has complied with this condition precedent

the question of any domestic quarrel may be considered by us and in that matter he must abide by the decision of the Muslim League.

It is no use saying that he is prepared to give me a letter which will not be released to the press unless he makes a statement to the press, thereby necessitating its release. The one and only interpretation that the public and press will put on ^{my meeting him} it will be that we are negotiating with him as the head of the Progressive Coalition Party and as the Chief Minister of Bengal and as a man, who, not being content with having started many ~~hated~~ as Proja Party, Progressive Muslim Group, is now threatening us with the establishment of an All-India Progressive Muslim League. On whose behalf will he be negotiating with us? The clear implication is, on behalf of his party and groups. ^{him as an individual} whereas so far as we are concerned we can only deal with the matter on the footing of his really repenting his attitude, and from this point of view we will see whether the decision of expulsion taken by the Muslim League and the ban imposed upon him should not be reconsidered on his making all necessary amends, in the best interest of Muslims of Bengal and India as a whole.

With kind regards from both of us to you all -
I hope I have made the position clear.
Yours sincerely

Kia. Jinnah

Hassan Ispahani Esq
5, Camac Street, Calcutta.

Mr. Fazlul Haq continued his vendetta against the Muslim Press. He suspended the newspaper *Azad* for an indefinite period for printing a letter on the injustice done to Muslims in the matter of APP appointments published some two and one half months earlier. I wrote to the Qaid on December 17, in this connection: "Little did he realise at the time that this injustice would give the Muslim League the sledge hammer to smash his head with. We are working up a first class agitation and shall not rest content until he withdraws

the order and thus admits defeat at our hands." I also informed him of the terrible havoc caused by cyclone in Midnapur and 24 Parganas, rendering millions homeless. I suggested that he might send a cheque to the Muslim League Fund for the sufferers. In reply the Qaid wrote on January 6, 1943: "It was a very great relief indeed to hear from you and get your letter of the 26th December. I pray to God that you will be safe. Naturally I was very anxious and am anxious even now. I thank you for acknowledging the receipt of my cheque which I sent you towards the Muslim League Fund for the relief of the sufferers in Midnapur."

By February, 1943 there was again a stir in the parliamentary circles of Bengal. The position of the Haq Ministry had become precarious and he and his friends were making circuitous approaches to the Muslim League to retrieve lost ground but on terms which would reduce the League to a subservient position. I conveyed detailed information about the situation to the Qaid on February 12, as under:

"Things in Bengal are moving once again. The first meeting of the Assembly takes place this afternoon. There is activity in the air. I am kept advised of the negotiations that are taking place between our party and the others. Nazem keeps me posted. I have read his letter to you and he has also conveyed to me the crux of his telephonic conversation with you, yesterday. I feel that the old and tricky fox is playing a clever and well planned game. Our friends here are either over credulous or are very keen on capturing power in the Province. I do not see why an outsider should be brought in, baptised with holy water of the League and then made Chief Minister! There is no need whatsoever for us to yield to this condition precedent. Nazem's record is clean and his integrity unquestionable. He is good enough to lead the Council of Ministers."

Further I cannot see how any Leaguer can be party to a pact that prevents Muslim Leaguers from speaking, writing or agitating for Pakistan. League Ministers may be permitted to enter into a reciprocal pact so far as the Members of the Cabinet go but they should not be permitted to choke the Muslim voice—in no circumstances and under no pretext whatsoever. You will remember that the first Fazlul Haq Ministry (which included Shaheed and others) tried to choke the observance of Pakistan day. We defied their directions and they had not the guts to do anything. We want no such repetition.

There is talk of a non-controversial special resolution being moved by Mr. S. Prasad Mukerjee calling upon the Government of India to unconditionally release Mr. Gandhi. We have decided to remain neutral, because we cannot oppose Gandhi's release. Now the Congress (Ad Hoc) and the Shyama Group are canvassing our support by a short speech by Nazem, the Leader of the Opposition. They say that Nazem may make it clear that unconditional release is being supported because it is not our desire to see the great leader of the Hindus die as a result of the fast and state further

that our position vis-a-vis Gandhi and the Party and Community he represents remains unchanged and that we cannot accept any terms other than those outlined by the many resolutions and decisions of the All-India Muslim League.

I am awaiting to read the draft of the speech if and when it is ready. Unless I read it I cannot comment upon it. The draft will have to be placed before the Party. I assure you that we shall not allow the League Party to draw the chestnut out of the fire for the majority nation. More of it later. I shall telephone you if I consider it necessary.

Old Haq is quaking in his shoes. He sees the hangman's noose over his head. Things change so suddenly these days! Who could have thought that he and his group had even a one in hundred chance of being pushed out of their guddies? They were so firmly fixed for the duration. Apparently, the Ad Hoc Congress and Shyamaprasad have, by circumstances, been converted to the opinion, that no Ministry however bad could be as bad as the present from the point of selfishness, corruption, lack of initiative and complete transfer of power to the I.C.S.!

Again I wrote him in this connection on February 15:

"It was a pleasure to have a few minutes talk with you over the telephone last night.

In the matter of Mr. Gandhi's fast, I took the same view as you have done and told the party that our action would be wantonly misrepresented in foreign countries and would react to the detriment of our stand and cause. Sir Nazimuddin and several others were anxious to play to the Congress, and Mahasabha gallery. They complied with their request for verbal support. Even at the meeting of the Legislative Party held during the prayer recess, I opposed the idea of a speech and finding myself alone took the next step i.e. insistence upon the speech being brief and put down in writing. I did not like the wording as drafted and declined to be a party to its acceptance. Again, I was however the only one who dissented. My protest was recorded and as a result of it the following words were added:—'As the world is aware, Mr. Gandhi's politics and ours widely differ and we do not accept his views etc.' I tried all I could to get them to add to the above the following:—'which aims at having an Akhand Hindustan and denies to the Muslims their birthright of self determination'. Their answer was that I was stating a self-evident fact and was taking away the grace of a gesture that our association with the motion was supposed to be.

For your information, Badruddoja, speaking on behalf of the 'Progressives' followed the language of the League and dissociated his party from Gandhi's politics."

Our position in the legislature was steadily improving. We made a bid to have our candidate elected to the Speakership of the Assembly (the Lower House) and missed it by the narrow margin of twenty three votes in a house of 250. We, however, succeeded in getting our candidate Sir Bijoy Prasad Roy elected as President of

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM THE ARMS

the Council (Upper House). I informed the Qaid accordingly and added: "Today (March 3) we compelled Government by means of an adjournment motion to accept our demands in the matter of application of Ordinance No. 2 of 1942, in the province. Haq yielded and did not dare to oppose us which may have resulted in his defeat. He gave the required assurance."

The Haq Ministry's position was deteriorating every day. It had a narrow escape on the Food debate. The League Party was daily gaining strength. I was able to report to the Qaid on March 13, as follows:

"Our voting in the Council Elections proved yet another eye-opener. Every Muslim League MLA voted strictly in accordance with the whip that was issued (secret ballot mind you whereas Fazlul Haq's Progressive Coalition (Huqian Muslims and the Forward Bloc) who total seventy, could only register twenty nine votes for their first nominee. The remaining forty one votes went helter-skelter—some being sold at Rs. 1000/- a piece.

We are daily gaining strength in the Legislature and praise be to Allah, Fazlul Haq's Muslims are gradually cracking up. Today, two crossed the floor. On Monday, we expect some more and, Inshallah, we shall go from strength to strength.

We are working as a first class team—one for all and all for one.

More developments later. Suffice it to say for the present that Fazlul Haq is looking a very worried man—the noose is slowly but surely tightening!"

Replying on March 17, 1943, the Qaid wrote: "Many thanks for your letters ending with the 13th March and I am very grateful to you for keeping me informed as to what is happening. Please continue to do so."

Mr. Fazlul Haq was now in a repentant mood. He wanted somehow to get back into the Muslim League but would not do the right thing in a straight-forward manner. He wrote a draft letter addressed to Mr. M.A. Jinnah. On the basis of the draft a telephonic conversation took place between Mr. Haq and Mr. Jinnah and also may brother Mirza Ahmad Ispahani and Mr. Jinnah. The notes taken on the occasion are reproduced below:

"The letter starts with an expression of sincere regret for all that has happened in the past and goes on to say that he will resign the Premiership of the province whereby the entire Progressive Coalition Party and the Progressive Party in the Assembly will automatically cease to exist. The Mussalmans following him at present, will, of course, have the right to enter the Muslim League and to join the Muslim League Parliamentary Party and the Muslim

League Parliamentary Party will elect its leader, the present leader becoming *functus officio*. He is prepared to abide by the decision of the All India Muslim League. The letter ends 'with kind regards, yours sincerely'.

"The conversation between him and Mr. Jinnah took about ten minutes and my brother spoke to Mr. Jinnah for four minutes in the same regard. The essence of the conversation and the demand of Mr. Jinnah may be put down as follows:—

'Mr. Fazlul Haq must resign first; action and not words and assurances. He must apologise for his past conduct in writing and withdraw all allegations and suits pending. Immediately, the above two stipulations are complied with, the ban on him will be removed by the President of the All-India Muslim League. Then Mr. Fazlul Haq will be eligible for membership to the Muslim League and will, as a logical consequence, be admitted to the Muslim League Legislature Party. Of course, those Mussalmans who now follow Mr. Fazlul Haq will also have the right to join the Muslim League and to enter the Parliamentary Party. The members of the Parliamentary Party will then meet and decide as to who shall be their leader, subject to the approval of Mr. Jinnah. In other words, the person elected as Leader of the Party in the Legislature, must have the approval of Mr. Jinnah if he has to lead the Party in the Legislature'.

"In confidence, I was told by him that he cannot, in any circumstances, barter away the position, prestige and honour of the Muslim League and that we in Bengal had not suffered one iota by the Haq-Shyamaprasad Ministry and that if more sufferings were in store for us it would harden and galvanize us into a disciplined political organisation in the province. He also said that he could not possibly have Mr. Fazlul Haq as leader of the Muslim League in the Legislature—in other words, as Muslim League Premier—as this would mean the sacrifice of strong principles and lowering of the prestige of the organisation in the eyes of the Muslims and non-Muslims in the province, in the country and abroad.

"P.S. The proposal was that if Mr. Jinnah accepted the letter as satisfactory, then the letter would be handed over to Mr. Ispahani for safe custody and Mr. Jinnah would issue a statement from Delhi lifting the ban and Mr. Fazlul Haq would simultaneously resign his Premiership. If this proposal was not acceptable, any reasonable modification, such as resignation first and lifting of the ban immediately afterwards, would be accepted by Mr. Fazlul Haq.

"The persons present when the conversation took place were Mr. Manzur Murshed, Mr. A. R. Siddiqi, Khan Bahadur Mohamed Ali, my brother and I."

Frantic efforts to pave the way for Mr. Haq's re-entry into the Muslim League continued. I talked to the Qaid on the telephone on March 18, and wrote to him two days later, as follows:

"Some of us had met at Nazem's place this morning to discuss our line of

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM THE
attack in the Legislature when his pet nephew, Mahboob Morshed,* came and made a very strong and soul-stirring appeal to take Mr. Fazlul Haq back in the League and save him if we can, from disgrace. We clearly told him that any assurances in the matter of leadership, or assurances that even if he is elected leader (which is doubtful) we could assure him that you would confirm such election, could not be given. He has gone back to see his uncle and to ask him to surrender unconditionally and to throw himself at the feet of the Muslim League and bear whatever punishments and trials this action on his part may involve. Let us see how far he is able to get him to respond to his wishes. Once again I am in complete accord with your stand. It is consistent and the only position that one can take if discipline, integrity and prestige of an All-India Organisation are to be maintained.

"I want to assure you that by telephoning and placing certain matters before you it was not my desire either to persuade you to accept the proposal, nor was my action prompted by over-anxiety to have Mr. Fazlul Haq back in the fold of the Muslim League at all cost."

The Qaid agreed with me and wrote on March 24, as follows:

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th March and I am very much relieved to note that you, at any rate, say that you are in complete accord with the stand that I have taken up regarding Mr. Fazlul Haq. We have not yet gone through Dunkirk**. There are some people who are talking without realising the significance of the move on the part of our opponents and if you fall into the trap you will not only destroy the discipline, prestige and integrity of the All-India organisation but your party will stand discredited in the eye of every thinking man in the country, and the world abroad.

"We have not really suffered yet, nor have we made any sacrifices, and we cannot barter away the name and prestige of the Muslim India by entering into any compromise which amounts to surrender directly or indirectly."

On March 23, the Haq Ministry narrowly escaped defeat by a margin of one vote in the Council. The next day it was challenged in the Assembly. We mustered eighty six votes in the open voting, the Ministry surviving by thirty six votes only. In the bye-election to six seats in the Council we won cent per cent. This was a great boost to the morale of the Muslim Leaguers and a shattering blow to Mr. Haq and his men. I wrote to the Qaid on March 26, as under:

"The rot has set in and demoralisation is showing itself clearly in Fazlul Haq's ranks. Four Muslims will cross the floor this afternoon. Three of these have issued a statement. We are expecting another two to come over by tonight. Inshallah, our wound of having the majority of the Muslim M.L.A.'s sitting opposite us, will soon be healed. We shall have on our side the

*Mahboob Morshed, at present Chief Justice, East Pakistan.

**The famous British retreat from France in May, 1940 when France surrendered to the Germans.

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM THE ARMCHAIR TO THE
attack in the Legislature when his pet nephew, Mahboob Morshed,* came and made a very strong and soul-stirring appeal to take Mr. Fazlul Haq back in the League and save him if we can, from disgrace. We clearly told him that any assurances in the matter of leadership, or assurances that even if he is elected leader (which is doubtful) we could assure him that you would confirm such election, could not be given. He has gone back to see his uncle and to ask him to surrender unconditionally and to throw himself at the feet of the Muslim League and bear whatever punishments and trials this action on his part may involve. Let us see how far he is able to get him to respond to his wishes. Once again I am in complete accord with your stand. It is consistent and the only position that one can take if discipline, integrity and prestige of an All-India Organisation are to be maintained.

"I want to assure you that by telephoning and placing certain matters before you it was not my desire either to persuade you to accept the proposal, nor was my action prompted by over-anxiety to have Mr. Fazlul Haq back in the fold of the Muslim League at all cost."

The Qaid agreed with me and wrote on March 24, as follows:

"I am in receipt of your letter of the 20th March and I am very much relieved to note that you, at any rate, say that you are in complete accord with the stand that I have taken up regarding Mr. Fazlul Haq. We have not yet gone through Dunkirk**. There are some people who are talking without realising the significance of the move on the part of our opponents and if you fall into the trap you will not only destroy the discipline, prestige and integrity of the All-India organisation but your party will stand discredited in the eye of every thinking man in the country, and the world abroad.

"We have not really suffered yet, nor have we made any sacrifices, and we cannot barter away the name and prestige of the Muslim India by entering into any compromise which amounts to surrender directly or indirectly."

On March 23, the Haq Ministry narrowly escaped defeat by a margin of one vote in the Council. The next day it was challenged in the Assembly. We mustered eighty six votes in the open voting, the Ministry surviving by thirty six votes only. In the bye-election to six seats in the Council we won cent per cent. This was a great boost to the morale of the Muslim Leaguers and a shattering blow to Mr. Haq and his men. I wrote to the Qaid on March 26, as under:

"The rot has set in and demoralisation is showing itself clearly in Fazlul Haq's ranks. Four Muslims will cross the floor this afternoon. Three of these have issued a statement. We are expecting another two to come over by tonight. Inshallah, our wound of having the majority of the Muslim M.L.A.'s sitting opposite us, will soon be healed. We shall have on our side the

*Mahboob Morshed, at present Chief Justice, East Pakistan.

**The famous British retreat from France in May, 1940 when France surrendered to the Germans.

majority of the Muslims in the Assembly. We have borne the pain, torture and humiliation with fortitude for sixteen months. Fazlul Haq looks a picture of misery. Do not be surprised if the Ministry falls sooner than anticipated. If and when it does fall, you must leave for Calcutta without delay. That is the time for you to be here and to lay down the law. The foundation must be clean and strong; otherwise, the house will not stand long. You have now got control over Bengal which you could not claim before the fall of the 'League Ministry' in December 1941. This control must be maintained at all cost."

The Qaid-e-Azam was naturally pleased with the developments and he wrote to me on March 29:

"You will find that the policy we have adopted is bound to triumph in the long run. We have to go through the fire and suffer a bit. You will come into to your own not by the back door but with honour and fully vindicating the prestige of the League.

"I am glad that you are all working as a team and that is the only way to a quick success."

The day of reckoning arrived at last. On March 29, the Haq Ministry resigned. I wired to the Qaid:

"Fazlul Haq Cabinet resigned. Assembly adjourned for a fortnight. Personal opinion you should come here immediately."

The Caste Hindu clique led by Shyama Prasad Mukerjee was making desperate efforts to keep all Hindu parties and, if possible, individuals away from co-operating with the Muslim League in the formation of a Ministry. While we were trying to secure co-operation from non-Muslim groups we had definitely made up our minds not to yield to threats but to face every situation that might be created by Hindu intransigence. The strength of the Muslim League Party and its supporters had risen to 104 and the moment its leader was commissioned to form the Ministry it was certain to claim a strength of 125 members. The leader of the Opposition Sir Nazimuddin should have been commissioned straightaway to form the Cabinet but the Governor only asked him to investigate and report on the chances of the formation of a broad-based Ministry in the province. I wrote to the Qaid that this was a novel procedure and expressed apprehension that Delhi was putting pressure on the Governor. Qaid-e-Azam in his reply dated April 3, stated categorically: "Sir Nazimuddin and the Muslim League Party should not accept any other position or fall into any trap but insist on the first condition that Sir Nazimuddin, as the leader of the Muslim League Party, should be called to form the Ministry and not accept what I have read in the newspapers that the Governor has requested him to explore the situation as a reporter."

On April 8, I was able to inform the Qaid that negotiations with the Hindus were progressing satisfactorily, the Bose group was likely to join hands with the Muslim League, the Krishak Proja were keen to join us and the strength of the Muslim League Party alone would go up to eighty five.

So far, so good. But the papers were again full of reports concerning "efforts on the part of the Muslim League Parliamentary Party leader to investigate and report on the chances of forming of a broad-based Government in the Province." Sir Nazimuddin went to see Shyama Prasad Mukerjee and Kiran Shanker Roy. This role appeared to us derogatory to the dignity of the League. It was criticised in an editorial in the *Star of India* of April 10. I received a letter from Sir Nazimuddin complaining against the editorial to which I replied as follows: "The policy of the *Star* is wedded neither to the Parliamentary Party nor to the Provincial Muslim League. It has been consistently loyal to the programme and policy of the All-India Muslim League. I am absolutely certain that it could not have been the intention of the writer to wound your feelings for you are respected even by those who do not see eye to eye with you on occasions." Sir Nazimuddin again wrote to me on the subject. In my reply dated April 11, I stated: "A newspaper if it is to command respect even in our own inner circle, must retain its independence and must reserve to itself the right to pull up any individual leader or group of persons if they glaringly do something that is likely to injure the prestige or to go contrary to the principle and policy of the All-India organisation. . . . I, however, agree that there should be the largest measure of co-operation between the Provincial League organisation and the Press and Muslim newspapers should support as fully as possible generally, and a hundred per cent specially, if the Provincial and the Parliamentary organisations keep within the strict bounds of the All-India policy." I forwarded copies of this correspondence to the Qaid-e-Azam.

In his reply dated April 9, the Qaid wrote to me:

"Many thanks for your letter of the 5th. I have also received a detailed letter from Sir Nazimuddin dated the 4th putting the whole position for me. I have had a talk with him on the 'phone and I hope you people will not commit yourselves to any formula which will go against the fundamental principle and policy of the League as a price for ministry; specially do not commit yourself to any formula regarding the position of the Muslim League towards the War effort, beyond what was defined when the League was occupying the leading and dominant position in the previous ministry. I am enclosing for your guidance a copy of the reply that I sent to Mr. Suhrawardy some time ago.

"As to my coming to Bengal, if you all really think that I can be of any use, I shall have no hesitation in coming. But in the first instance, Sir Nazimuddin must be commissioned to form the Ministry.

"Thank you for all the information. Please do keep me in touch."

At long last Sir Nazimuddin was commissioned to form the Ministry on April 13. But the way the leaders of the Party set about constructing the Ministry caused grave apprehension in the minds of the Muslim Leaguers whose object was not merely to see a Ministry formed but to get the Muslim League strengthened and placed on a clean and strong foundation. I accordingly wrote to the Qaid-e-Azam on April 15:

"Dirty work seems to have begun even before the assumption of power. God alone knows what is in store for us when our friends constitute the Ministry and run the administration of the province. Of one thing I am certain, and as certain as I am living today, that is we shall do everything in our power to smash cotrie rule, to smash intrigues and to do away with all the shortcomings and defects that cumulatively were responsible for the fall of the last Ministry and the landslide that our Muslim League Parliamentary ranks witnessed at the end of 1941. If the Cabinet is formed on the basis of a clique rule and on the evil principle that once a Minister, always a Minister and if the Cabinet does not contain younger, healthier and cleaner blood I tell you, Sir, that it will fall within six months. It will be fatal to allow it to exist. Houses will have to be broken and rebuilt until a smart and sanitary structure is finally put up. It is on these grounds and it is for this reason that I have been repeatedly advocating the necessity for your being on the spot and taking an active interest in the parliamentary affairs of the province on the eve of the announcement of the personnel of the Ministry. I feel that the same old gang minus Fazlul Haq will come in and the same old gang will rule in the same old way....

"The Parliamentary Party meets on Sunday and possibly it is there that the personnel of the Ministry will be discussed and I fear trouble either on that day or not very many days after the Ministry assumes charge. I hope you have made it clear to Nazimuddin that before he finally submits the names of his colleagues to the Governor he should advise you who they are. Neither Nazimuddin, nor Shaheed nor Shahabuddin will welcome your presence here, because it will not suit them. They will not have a free hand that they are planning to have.... I consider it my bounden, and almost sacred, duty to place before you facts, without any prejudice or colouring, as I see them here so that you may act as you think best for the good of the Muslims of this province."

The Qaid's letter dated April 15 which crossed mine said: "In the present circumstances I will prefer that Sir Nazimuddin and you people there should settle the personnel of the Ministry and I hope you will do it in a manner which will be most creditable to the Party, the Bengal Muslims and Muslim India as a whole. But if there is

any difficulty or there is any hitch, then ask Sir Nazimuddin to make a reference to me. I therefore think that I should not go to Calcutta nor is it really necessary. With regard to the controversy concerning the paragraph that appeared in the *Star of India* we will discuss it when you are all in Delhi; but I hope that these differences of opinion will not in any way come in the way of your working as a team as you all have done so far and with such splendid results as you are witnessing yourself."

After the formation of the Ministry by Sir Nazimuddin there were animated scenes in the Assembly. The opposition was strong but we were stronger. The Food debate took three days with fifty speakers participating. The voting showed our strength. The Coalition Government was supported by 134 members (seventy seven Muslims, seven Caste Hindus, twenty one Scheduled Caste, twenty three Europeans, three Anglo-Indians, one Indian Christian, one Hillman).

Realising the seriousness of the food situation in Bengal I wrote to the Qaid: "The Muslim League is jubilant, but joy without work will not do. The province is passing through a food crisis and every effort is being made by all who hold the League cause dear, to do everything possible to alleviate the distress and to improve the situation. Improvement will be blessed not only by the Mussalmans but equally by the Hindus."

On August 28, 1943, I received from the Qaid-e-Azam a cheque for Rs. 5,000/- donated by Botawala Charities to be utilised for the purpose of giving relief to Muslim sufferers in Bengal. I deposited the cheque in the account of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund.

Meanwhile, a virulent propaganda offensive based on falsehoods was mounted against the Ministry by Shyama Prasad Mukerjee and his men. I wrote to the Qaid on this subject on September 8, as follows:

"Propaganda and action do not seem to come within the programme of the Ministry. When Shyama Prasad ruled Bengal, he extradited, imprisoned and detained Muslim League workers and students on the flimsiest grounds. Muslim League papers were suspended on the smallest pretext. Our Johnnies have forgotten all this persecution and prosecution and hesitate to take action against a section of the Press and Shyama Prasad for the very serious offence of fanning the fire of communal ill-will, for drowning truth in lies and for acting as Fifth Columnists in the Province. Our Johnnies have not the guts. We are afraid they will suddenly realise that power has gone and the Muslim League has suffered a serious set-back. It is necessary for the Working Committee to meet and for you to put matters right in Bengal

before conditions worsen. You went to the aid of all provinces, the latest being Sind; it is for you, Sir, to please come here also and set our house in order."

We concentrated on relief work in Bengal and in this connection I reported to the Qaid on September 11, as follows:

"I feel I owe you some information regarding the Muslim Chamber's Relief Fund. The work is progressing splendidly and I am glad to advise you that within the next eight days we shall have between thirty four to thirty six free kitchens throughout the length and breadth of Bengal. We have decided not to open any more kitchens in the city limits of Calcutta. We hope to be in a position to feed 20,000 to 24,000 persons, once daily. The task undertaken is gigantic and requires large funds. I am glad to say that money is coming in daily from all over India and from places as far as Kohat. Muslim Orphanages outside Bengal have volunteered to take over Muslim orphans. School boys are collecting funds and one school Azamgarh has already sent in four instalments of fifty rupees each. This is magnificent work.

"I am countering Mukerjee's move for removing orphan children of Bengal sharply and promptly by arranging with the Calcutta Muslim Orphanage and the Muslim Orphanage of Dacca to receive, house, feed and educate children rendered homeless and parentless owing to the conditions that are sweeping over our unfortunate province today.

"I have made adequate financial arrangements for the maintenance of these children in the orphanages mentioned above. I expect our cash funds to reach two lacs of rupees mark within the next few days.

"I have asked the Punjab and Sind to send us their help in food grains, particularly rice instead of cash. I have asked Sir Azizul Haque who will be receiving nearly Rs. 40,000/-, to send down, as arranged with him at Bombay, rice purchased in the Punjab as cheaply as possible, for account of the Muslim Chamber of Commerce."

"We are giving free food and free milk to babies irrespective of religion or caste.

"We are grateful to you for your blessings and for the trouble you are taking in forwarding cheques and monies received by you for Bengal."

Attempts to dislodge the Nazimuddin Ministry continued but it warded off the attacks. I reported to the Qaid on March 10, 1944, as follows:

"The kite-flying and propaganda in the non-Muslim press and on the platform in regard to the dwindling majority of the present Ministry has all ended in smoke. The last division has taken the wind out of the sails of the Opposition. Both Dr. Shyama Prasad Mookerjee and Fazlul Haq looked very crestfallen on that day. The Government has a very safe majority and unless it does something seriously wrong or completely closes its eyes to the machinations of

MUSLIM LEAGUE TO THE MASSES
the Opposition, without taking necessary counter steps, I feel there is nothing for us to worry."

The position became a little difficult a week later but Government came out unscathed. On March 18, I informed the Qaid as follows:

"Three days ago things began to look troublesome in the Assembly because Fazlul Haq & Co. with Mahasabha money bags were very active. The division three days ago gave a majority to Government of seventeen votes and this had begun to show a demoralising effect. Government, however, and every member of it, worked night and day most actively, and put in a very good show last night. The House adjourned at 9.30 p.m. and the vote showed 123 for Government against ninety five for Opposition. Some members have not yet returned to Calcutta and others are lying ill in Calcutta. I do not think there may be any necessity for bringing them to the Assembly on stretchers. However, we have had two very exciting days."

About this time the Qaid-e-Azam was busy tackling the situation in the Punjab created by the double-faced policy of the Unionists led by Malik Khizr Hayat Tiwana. I wrote to the Qaid on April 12:

"I am indeed very happy to note the developments in the Punjab. Chhoturam, Manoharlal and Baldeo Singh have too much influence on Tiwana and it seems to me that he too will take the line of least resistance as did A.K. Fazlul Haq and betray the League in order to keep himself in office. Our stand in that case is patent. We shall have to do in the Punjab what we did in Bengal and, with a band of sincere and active young men at the disposal of the League in the Punjab, I think that quicker and earlier results can be achieved in that province than we were able to in ours. Whether the League continues to be the Government or goes into opposition, matters little. We cannot continue to have our friends playing a double game all the time. They must make their choice."

After the breakdown of the talks with Khizr Hayat Khan, the Qaid attended the Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference at Sialkot and from there he proceeded to Kashmir for a holiday—the first after seven years of strenuous work. From Srinagar he wrote to me on May 20, : "With regard to the Punjab, I think the situation has been made quite clear and the issue has been crystallised. It is now up to us to organise thoroughly and most efficiently the Muslim League in Punjab".

After the Punjab, there were reports of trouble between two groups of Muslim Leaguers in Sind headed by the Premier Sir Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah and Mr. G.M. Syed, President of the Sind Provincial Muslim League. Each group was manoeuvring to get the upper hand in Sind Muslim League politics. G. M. Syed was reported to be planning a motion of no-confidence against the Hidayatullah

Ministry. Qaid-e-Azam sent for both Hidayatullah and G.M. Syed and after prolonged discussions with them, issued a statement on January 7, 1945 in which he clarified the position as under:

1. As regards the Muslim League Party in the Sind Assembly, Sir Ghulam Husain is the leader and so long as he enjoys the confidence of the Party, he can, and it is his responsibility to choose his Muslim colleagues in the Ministry in such a manner as he may think proper and this position of Sir Ghulam Husain was recognised by all who were present at the Delhi meeting.

2. That the Muslim League Party cannot enter into any coalition with any group in the Assembly unless the terms and conditions of such a proposed coalition are approved of by the Central Parliamentary Board.

When the dispute between Hidayatullah and G.M. Syed could not be resolved and its continuance became detrimental to the overall interests of Muslim India, Mr. Jinnah sent for Syed at Bombay and, after a three-day talk with him, issued an appeal to both parties for compromise and greater co-operation in the Provincial Muslim League. But the squabble continued. Charges and counter-charges were flung with great abandon. On February 24, 1945, the Hidayatullah Ministry was defeated by 25 votes against 19 on an item of the budget because Syed's group in the Muslim League Party voted against the Ministry. There was fight still left in the Chief Minister. Having been allowed time by the Governor to re-group his forces, Hidayatullah went ahead in his search for fresh support. He picked Haji Moula Bux (a non-Leaguer) as an additional Minister because this brought him much-needed support, although it came from the so-called 'Nationalist Muslims'. This step clearly was a contravention of one of the fundamental principles of Muslim League policy. When I heard of these developments I wrote to the Qaid-e-Azam on February 27, 1945, as under:

"Sind has turned out to be a festering sore of the Muslim League. The antics, the abuses, the statements and counter-statements and the washing of dirty linen in public, I am sure, have disgusted every Mussalman.... Today's newspapers, however, carry news which every Leaguer will consider to be absolutely the limit. Sir Ghulam Husain in his anxiety to stop Syed or to keep his Ministry in office, has overstepped the mark. He has flouted one of the fundamentals of our creed—he has broken one of our irrelaxable laws—namely that of coalescing with another non-League Muslim individual and party—to get the majority necessary for keeping his Ministry in office."

To the Qaid-e-Azam the programme and policy of the Muslim League were more important than the continuance of a Ministry. He would prefer defeat of the Ministry and imposition of Governor's rule under Section 93 to the sacrifice of the principles of the Muslim League policy. He was unhappy about the whole episode. Hidayatullah's action drew a sharp reprimand from the Qaid who sent the following telegram to him on March 2 :

"Your telegram second March. Serious mistake having included Moula Bux in League Ministry without his joining League, impossible accept this position stop. Only course rectify this violation breaking our fundamental principle which so well known to you that Moula Bux must join League immediately or else he must stay out stop League honour and principles cannot be bartered away because threat ninetythree or any other consequences am most reluctant exercise my extraordinary powers hoping you will loyally stand by me as you have so far done and carry out my advice immediately. Wire reply."

The above-quoted telegram was followed by a letter to Hidayatullah the same day to ensure that the message was correctly received.

If Hidayatullah's action was wrong, Syed's antics in getting the Ministry of his own party defeated was equally condemnable. In reply to Syed's telegram of February 27, seeking advice and instructions, the Qaid telegraphed him on February 28 :

"Your telegrams of the 24th and 27th Regret to say that on your own admission, you have adopted unconstitutional methods have lent yourself to unworthy intrigues, playing into the hands of enemies, have let down you, leader and party to which you belonged, thereby you have already damaged our cause and the prestige of the Muslim League, you have precipitated a crisis have broken party discipline, caused a split, shaken the solidarity of Sind Muslims notwithstanding your assurance to me at the conclusion of our Bombay talks and against my advice. You have ignored the committee of action the Central Parliamentary Board, the League machinery, the constitution, the rules and regulations, through and by means of which you could have secured full redress of any just grievance, but, instead, you have wrongly resorted to methods which are calculated to undermine the basic structure of the League organization, its aims and objects. This course of action on your part is highly improper, detrimental to Muslim interests and to the Muslim League, it is futile to give advice and instructions any more."

In the meantime, Hidayatullah had committed himself in writing to Moula Bux and assured him that even if Mr. Jinnah did not permit the coalition with a non-Muslim League Muslim, he would stand by him and carry on the coalition. But when the heat was turned on full blast both Hidayatullah and G.M. Syed receded from the positions they had taken up. In a telegraphic reply to Nawabzada Liaquat Ali Khan, General Secretary of the All-India Muslim League, Syed said :

"Your telegram shall carry out loyally your direction stop have since assured Sir Ghulam Husain complete support." On his part, Hidayatullah removed Moula Bux from his Cabinet. This give-in by both sides restored peace in the Sind Muslim League for the time being.

Then, as it usually happens at the time of distribution of loaves and fishes, on the question of nomination of Muslim League candidates for the General Elections which were to be held on January 21, 1946, the Ministerial group and Syed's group fell out and the Provincial Parliamentary Board failed to perform its task. The Central Parliamentary Board stepped in and proceeded to select League candidates for contesting elections to the Sind Assembly. Syed and his group, though they were still in the Muslim League did not abide by the Central Parliamentary Board's decisions and put up their own candidates, thus committing a flagrant breach of discipline, for which they were expelled from the organisation by the Committee of Action presided over by Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan. Eventually, the Muslim League won 28 seats and other Muslims 7 seats.

Hidayatullah, as leader of the Muslim League Party in the newly elected Assembly, formed the Ministry. It had an overall majority of only one vote. Syed, with his three followers, in collaboration with Hindu members of the Assembly, worked ceaselessly to undermine the position of the Ministry. One Muslim League member having defected, both sides—the Ministerial Party and the Opposition—became equal in strength. Parliamentary Government having been rendered impossible, the Governor dissolved the Assembly and appointed a care-taker Government headed by Hidayatullah to carry on until fresh general elections which were ordered to be held in December 1946. These elections resulted in cent per cent victory for the Muslim League in the thirty five Muslim constituencies. It enabled the League to form a stable Ministry with Hidayatullah as the Chief Minister.* Thus by his firm stand on principle, the Qaid once again saved the honour and maintained the prestige of the Muslim League at a critical stage which among other factors, paved the way for the emergence of Pakistan.

Qaid-e-Azam was taken ill in March, 1945, and the annual session of the League scheduled to be held during that month at Lahore had to be postponed. I wrote to him on March 12: "Please do not worry about the affairs of Sind, UP or anywhere else. Please

*The Qaid-e-Azam who was in England at the time was naturally delighted to receive the news by cable (details elsewhere in the book).

take complete rest until you are one hundred per cent fit again. May Allah protect you and may you be fit and strong to navigate the ship of Muslim destiny for very many years more."

As regards the affairs in Bengal, I reported to the Qaid on March 27: "The Assembly here is sitting from day to day and so far, the Opposition have not met with any success in challenging the strength of the Government. As is their established practice, they create scenes daily, use dreadful language and level the vilest and most irresponsible charges against the Government, protecting themselves with the shield of parliamentary privilege. I do not think any legislature in India has sunk half as low as ours."

An hour after this letter was written, there was a snap division in the Assembly which took the Government benches unawares with the result that the vote went against them. If supporters of Government had been present in full strength, the Opposition would certainly have been defeated. I reported the situation to the Qaid on April 24, as follows:

"I have committed many mistakes of judgment in my life but the biggest blunder of all was that contained in my letter written to you on March 27, an hour before the unexpected snap division was called in the Legislative Assembly. The fact is that I was lulled into a position of absolute security by the reports that I received from the Whips and prominent members of the Party from time to time. The Party were caught napping. They were diddled very cleverly by the Opposition. The Government expected, as usual, a very strong opposition to the Demand for Civil Supplies and also the Home and Police Demand. They decided to muster their full strength when Government least suspected the attack, namely, at the fag-end of the Budget Session and they selected Agriculture, a Demand to which Government did not expect any opposition from any quarter. The opposition also calculated that in view of the approaching Easter Holidays some M.L.A.'s, particularly the Europeans, would go away a couple of days before the Easter Holidays commenced to enjoy a slightly longer holiday. Some of our own Muslim members went away. The stage was in the meantime, prepared and ready. Money had passed from the Marwaries to certain purchaseable commodities through the medium of the leaders of the opposition groups. It was only at 2-30 in the afternoon of the snap division that Government Whips and Ministers realised that eighteen persons headed by the Nawab of Dacca were going to betray the Government Party. Of course, the Speaker, a nominee of the Opposition, as usual, did his worst against the Muslim League. He even usurped the power of the Governor and actually dictated to him his duties. Had he been impartial and given Government a reasonable opportunity to carry on the debate until it could marshal its full strength within an hour or so, I am sure the division figures would not have shown a defeat for the Government on that very day. However, Section 93 rules the province and I shall not be surprised in the least if it holds the field for some more months."

We did not accept the snap division as an expression of no-confidence and demanded that we be given an opportunity to demonstrate our majority. The Governor did not concede our demand and took over the government under Section 93.

Replying on May 6, the Qaid wrote:

"As regards the Bengal situation and your summary of the Assembly and the Ministry, I have noted all that you have to say. Corruption is a curse in India and amongst Muslims especially the so-called educated and intelligentsia. Unfortunately, it is this class that is selfish and morally and intellectually corrupt. No doubt, this disease is common, but amongst this particular class of Muslims, it is rampant. All this is due to the demoralised and degenerated state to which we are reduced and for want of character. However, it is a phase that we have to face and make every effort to eradicate it and purify our society....

"As regards myself, I am glad to tell you that I am almost alright and I shall be quite well very soon. But this breakdown has left me weak and therefore, I shall have to continue to have complete rest for some time to come. It does not mean that in case of emergency I shall not be ready to do my little bit. Please do keep me informed about the important developments that may take place in Bengal."

As the General Elections approached, the Provincial Muslim Leagues took steps to constitute the Provincial Parliamentary Boards which were charged with the task of issuing tickets to candidates for contesting elections. The unity which characterised the ranks of the Muslim League in Bengal began to show signs of cracking and there was jockeying for seats on the Parliamentary Board. I sent a detailed report to the Qaid on October 1, which stated *inter alia* :

"I was appointed Treasurer of the Election Fund by the Working Committee and this appointment was published in the Press five weeks ago. A few days later, by another decision of the Working Committee which was released to the Press, Sir Nazimuddin was elected President cum Treasurer! At the first meeting of the Fund Committee, I told Sir Nazimuddin that I could not understand the sudden change in the Treasurership and most of the merchant members of the Committee present insisted that I alone should be Treasurer. A meeting of the Working Committee was called a couple of days after and I was again elected Treasurer of the Fund.

"We started work in earnest and collected Rs. 15,000/- when reports of the rift in the League's upper two reached the ears of some members of the Committee and collection efforts automatically ceased as some members of the Committee felt that they could not appeal to their brethren to give money if it was to be spent in propping up or bringing in the supporters of an individual instead of it being judiciously spent on League propaganda and in the selection and support of the most suitable candidates from the League's point of view. On September 30, the Council of the League continued its business which was to elect its five representatives on the Parliamentary Board.

"Before the votes were recorded, each leader was sure of his success. Nazimuddin had already collared four seats, namely, Moulana Mohd. Akram Khan, himself, Mr. Fazlul Rahman, M.L.A. (representative of the Assembly), Mr. Nurul Amin, (representative of the Bengal Legislative Council). Nazimuddin thought that he would win at least two out of the 5 Council seats and thus have a clear majority on the Board. On the other hand, Suhrawardy and the Provincial League Secretary, Abul Hashim, a person with a communistic outlook, were certain of carrying all the five Council seats on the Board. Nazimuddin was warned by some of his friends and wellwishers that he should compromise and not fight. He was told that he was being led up the garden path by his supporters. He did not listen. I did not attend the meeting nor did I participate in the voting. The results were announced late last evening. Suhrawardy & Co. have won all the five Provincial Council seats. Among Suhrawardy's group there are *at least* two dangerous persons and in Nazimuddin's group, two are worthless.

"I am afraid the Parliamentary Board, as constituted, may not have the full confidence of the people and particularly the confidence of persons who will be called upon to pay big money to the Fund. This will be the position if the Parliamentary Board, as constituted, functions properly and there is no tug-of-war among the members. I had decided to tender my resignation from the Treasurership of the Election Fund and also to resign my membership of the Provincial Working Committee. I was prevailed upon by persons close to me not to take this hasty action but to write to you and seek your valuable advice. My own feeling is that as I cannot stoop to support one individual against another, and as I cannot suffer humiliation at the hands of these people, it is best for me to get out. I have been, like most of the non-party men, slowly squeezed out of everything every time. So why should I hang on and suffer this indignity?

"Bengal is an unfortunate province indeed. Whereas Muslims are closing their ranks in other provinces to meet the Congress-Mahasabha challenge, we are fighting within our own camp and are providing an excellent weapon for our enemies to wield against us."

With his usual sobriety and foresight the Qaid, who was at that time in Baluchistan, replied on October 9, as follows:

"Well, I really don't know what to say as regards Bengal, but one thing is certain that unless you people pull together, whatever the provocations or personal intrigues and individual selfishness and ambition, you can't succeed. The only issue before the country now is Pakistan against Akhand Hindustan and if Muslims do not stand united they will get a setback of a very serious character and I don't think that any one of those who are ambitious will survive to realize their dreams when the Assembly meets, and even if they do, the newly elected Assembly is not going to be of a permanent character. Therefore, I do hope they will give up thinking in terms of Chief Minister and Ministers, as, divided, different groups will go flying, and what is more, we shall have lost the paramount issue of Pakistan in the eyes of the World."

The Qaid wrote to me again in this connection from Bombay on November 2, :

"Please do keep me informed as to what is happening, and I do hope that nothing will come in the way of supporting the League candidates, doesn't matter who they are. After all, it is the Central Parliamentary Board that will decide finally and not your local Board in case of an appeal or appeals that may be filed and after they have decided, the Mussalmans must understand that thenceforward they must support the League candidate, even if he be a lamp-post in the opinion or judgment of any individual."

At this time, Mr. Fazlul Haq was showing keenness to rejoin the Muslim League. I wrote to the Qaid in this connection and received the following reply: "The best course for him would be to follow the example of Begum Shah Nawaz." The Begum had expressed regret for past conduct in disobeying the mandate of the Muslim League and applied for permission to join the League, which was granted. Mr. Fazlul Haq, with his usual inconsistency, however, contested the elections against the Muslim League. His group was completely routed. In September 1946, however, he withdrew the suit he had filed against the Qaid, expressed regret for his past conduct and applied to the Calcutta District Muslim League for re-admission.

Unfortunately, the struggle for power in the Muslim League of Bengal started at a critical time when the need of the hour was complete unity. Shaheed Suhrawardy, who was a member of Nazimuddin's Cabinet, a trusted lieutenant, one in whose ability Nazimuddin prided and whose advice he sought, began to feel that this was the time for him to snatch power from his Chief and to seat himself in the Chief Minister's chair. Encouraged by his lieutenants and accomplices, he struck hard and with success, and poor Nazimuddin was knocked out. This betrayal so shocked and hurt him that for days, he reeled under its impact and, thereafter, decided not to seek election to the Bengal Legislative Assembly nor to encourage the splitting of the League, something he could have easily done. In fact, he ordered his followers to forget the deplorable incident, to close ranks and to fight the elections as one solid party, so essential for capturing an overwhelming majority of the Muslim seats. Such a success was essential to show to the British Government and to the world, the power of our organisation and its undeniable right to call itself the sole authoritative political party of the Muslim nation.

The painful episode reminded one of the tragedy of Julius Caesar as written by Shakespeare. Brutus and Cassius, Caesar's friends and supporters, stabbed him and ended his Emperorship. In the case of

MUSLIM LEAGUE FROM THE ...
Bengal, however, Caesar was stabbed to the heart, yet did not succumb. He withdrew and allowed his wound to heal and then, after about a year, he struck with his army of supporters and laid low Brutus. This happened on the eve of Partition when the Bengal Legislature was split up into two parts composed of members representing the constituencies in the new East Bengal and West Bengal. Shaheed was out in the wilderness and Nazimuddin stepped in again and took over his lost leadership. The moral is obvious: Loyalty to a cause and loyalty to one's leaders are the essential qualities of a disciplined man.

After the squabbles over the distribution of tickets was over, it was heartening to see the leaders of different groups working unitedly for the success of the League Candidates. The Qaid, very kindly, acceded to our request to tour Bengal before the elections to the Provincial Assembly. After consulting the leaders, I informed him that he might visit Bengal in the second and third weeks of February, 1946, and he should spare a fortnight for the purpose. Elsewhere, I have described in detail his triumphant tour of Bengal and the splendid results it produced. I am happy to recall that the dark clouds which hovered over the Bengal Muslim League horizon in September, 1945, eventually dispersed and all its leaders and workers rose to the occasion and worked hand in hand to ensure the success of the League Candidates. As a result, a stable Muslim League Ministry was formed in the province of Bengal enabling it to put its full weight behind the struggle for the creation of Pakistan in its final and decisive stage.

Elsewhere, I have dealt with the important events which occurred during our march to political freedom. I have dealt with War Committees, the Cripp's Mission, the Simla Conference, the Cabinet Mission, the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, and with the notorious Radcliffe Award. It is, therefore, not necessary to cover the same ground in this chapter as it has not been, nor is it my present intention, to make the book any different from its title and spirit which made me undertake its writing.

The reader may wonder as to why I have narrated at such length the story of the struggle which was waged in Bengal to put the Muslim League on a strong and solid basis. The reasons are two. First, as I lived in Calcutta throughout this period and was intimately associated with the struggle, I found myself in a position to throw light on its various aspects so far as Bengal was concerned. Secondly, Bengal in pre-independence days, contained a Muslim population of over 33 million which made it a key-stone in the body-politic of Muslim India.

The success of the Muslim League in Bengal was of vital importance to the successful conclusion of the movement for the creation of Pakistan. While on the subject of Bengal, I must in fairness to my close friends and colleagues, Abdur Rahman Siddiqui and Khwaja Nooruddin mention their great services in helping to transform the Muslim League in Bengal from a body of office-seekers and opportunists into a powerful organisation wedded to an ideal. Abdur Rahman, in particular, was my guide in political matters from 1932 until I became a disciple of Mohammad Ali Jinnah. Nooruddin, Abdur Rahman and I were known as the 'Three Tailors of Tooley Street' and were at times dubbed as 'The Three Muskeeters'. We were a thorn in the side of opportunists and we did our duty fearlessly.

I would also add that though my criticism of Mr. A. K. Fazlul Haq's inexplicable behaviour in critical times, has been unsparing and, on occasions, harsh, I would be doing him grave injustice if I overlooked or forgot the services he rendered to Muslims in his more noble and kinder moments. It would be unfair to his memory if I do not record that it was he who drafted and sponsored the Secondary Education Bill of Bengal and it was he who founded the Islamia College and Lady Brabourne College for the Muslim boys and girls respectively of Bengal. Nor can I easily forget his emotional speeches in support of the Muslim case when he stood on the right side of the fence and was affectionately hailed as the "Sher-e-Bengal" (The Bengal Tiger). He was a kind man generally and was noted for his love and solicitude for students. No needy student was ever turned away from his doors not even when he was short of cash himself and had to borrow it from a Kabuli moneylender next door.

For sure, the Muslim League had more or less similar problems to contend with in the other provinces as well, both Muslim-majority and Muslim-minority. The stories concerning them, I leave to individuals of those provinces to tell. If a Punjabi leader of the time writes of what he remembers or has recorded, he will disclose that the trickery of the Unionist Party, which, with British blessings, held the reins of government in the province, did not differ substantially from that of Bengal at the time.

The foregoing correspondence will disclose to the reader that the Qaid was always frank and his approach to problems, always direct. He was quite clear in his mind as to his aim and also the path he would take to reach his destination. He knew that the road he was treading was hard and rugged and studded with obstacles which were not easy to surmount. But he was undaunted, cool and deliberate. He did not permit sentiment to enter his thinking or decision.

The reader will also observe from the letters of Mr. Jinnah in this and other chapters, a consistent and steady undercurrent which cannot but convey to him that the Qaid was always teaching, guiding and encouraging. He always showed patience and was tolerant; he propelled one forward and left no room for relaxation for himself or for his lieutenants, nor did he ever refuse to give cogent reasons, particularly to his own disciples, for his thinking and acting as he did in political matters.

As Muslims, we believe that man can do nothing or achieve anything without the will and help of the Creator. But we equally believe that without sincere and hard effort on the part of man, God will not help. There is a saying in Persian which reads: *As toe Harakat va az man Barakat* (Action by you and blessing from me). In other words, 'God helps those who help themselves'. This saying admirably applied to Mohammed Ali Jinnah. To imagine or to accept that due to the then prevailing circumstances, Pakistan dropped like a ripe apple in his lap would be to over-simplify matters, mis-state the position and rob him of the praise due, praise for his hard and systematic work in organising the All-India Muslim League, in converting it slowly but surely and effectively into a powerful organisation and obtaining the support of one hundred million determined Muslims of the sub-continent to achieve a homeland for themselves—a homeland where they could live in accordance with their own lights, free from oppressive domination by an overwhelming Hindu majority.

So my story on the transition of the All-India Muslim League from the comfort of armchairs to the hazards of a mass organisation of the Muslims has drawn to a close.

Let us not, however, confuse the old body with those which have come into existence since August 14, 1947. The new organisations unfortunately lack the enthusiasm, the determination, the discipline, the unity, the sacrifice and above all else, the aim which propelled the All-India Muslim League onward to solidarity and greatness. Those who devotedly worked for the great All-India body, by and large, eschewed their personal interests and ambitions and devoted themselves to the objective of securing freedom for the Muslims of the sub-continent, freedom from the British and freedom from the Hindus. They worked with the zeal of fanatics under the leadership of an immaculately clean and able man, Mohammad Ali Jinnah. The memory of the deeds and achievements of the All-India Muslim League, I fervently hope, will be a never-failing source of inspiration for all those who wish to serve and build Pakistan without selfish motives and thus pay the greatest tribute to the memory of Mohammad Ali Jinnah.

CABINET MISSION AND DIPLOMACY

ON the eve of the visit of the Cabinet Mission to British India in March 1946, the Qaid-e-Azam summoned a meeting of the Working Committee of the All-India Muslim League at New Delhi. The first group of the Muslim Leaguers whom the Mission invited to dinner consisted of the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad, the late Miss Mumtaz Shah Nawaz and myself. The bigger guns like Liaquat Ali Khan and the President of the Muslim League were invited to dinner separately and later.

On receipt of the invitation through Mr. Woodrow Wyatt, one of the Secretaries of the Mission and later a prominent Labour M.P., we went to the Qaid-e-Azam and asked if we may accept it. He replied: "Yes", and asked us to keep our weather eye open and report to him the next morning.

Before dinner we sat in the drawing room of the Commander-in-Chief's house at New Delhi which had been placed by the Indian Government at the disposal of the Mission and had an interesting conversation with the three members of the British Labour Cabinet, both at the dining table and thereafter over cups of coffee. Sir Stafford Cripps right through pleaded the case for a united India with adequate safeguards for the Muslims. He ably and persuasively argued that by dividing India and creating Pakistan the new State would not be viable and would come to grief within a short time of its birth.

I remember him telling us that that was the time for the Muslim League leadership to take full advantage of the opportunity and strike a favourable bargain with the Congress and the Hindu leadership, using the Cabinet Mission's good offices for the purpose. He said that if this opportunity were lost and if India were divided and later the viability of Pakistan became unreal, then she would take Pakistan back on her own terms and the Muslims would be reduced to a sad position in the country.

Of course, the argument that a united India would be strong in itself and a source of strength to the Commonwealth, to Britain and to democracy in times of crisis was also more than once put forth in the course of the evening.

Mr. A. V. Alexander spoke little and confined himself to the defence angle. He told us that defence experts in Britain were unanimously of the view that the partition of India would create a serious defence problem for the two countries of the sub-continent and particularly for Pakistan. He emphasised that the defence of Pakistan would be a problem bristling with insurmountable difficulties and the defence of East Pakistan (at the time it was not contemplated that Bengal would be truncated; our thinking was that East Pakistan would be the whole of the British province of Bengal with the addition of almost the whole of Assam) against aggression would be an almost impossible proposition.

He said that defence, as we knew, involved heavy cost and as Pakistan would be a territory with a thousand miles of foreign (Indian) land separating the West from the East wing, the defence requirements and, therefore, its budget, would be much more than that of a "one piece" country. Beside the cost, Mr. Alexander argued, mobility, depth of defence, logistics and a dozen other problems would raise their ugly heads and make the responsibility of defence doubly grave. He was convinced, as were his top-ranking advisers, that the cost and difficulties involved in the defence of Pakistan would have a crippling effect on the new State.

Another argument which he advanced was that it would even increase the task of the British forces to help defend such a scattered area in case the Commonwealth was involved in a war. On the other hand, if India remained a whole unit, and if the defence of free India continued on the existing basis, with a central command, not only would the burden of defence on the people be less *per capita* but the defence itself would be more efficient.

Stafford Cripps or Pethick Lawrence, I cannot recollect who, advanced the additional argument that we would inherit a poor economy to meet the needs of a state which aims at progress, and that industrially and in natural resources, too, we would be far behind the rest of India.

We did not sit tongue-tied. We heard the members of the British Cabinet with respect and replied to them suitably. In brief, we stated

that we could not accept the view, however considered it was, that Pakistan would not be a viable state. We were right. Even our truncated Pakistan, which we did not envisage at the time, has proven in the past nineteen years that it is as viable and even more viable than many independent countries which are on the map today and is certainly in a better way now than India. We said we had jute and cotton and were confident that we had other untapped resources which would be adequate to take care of the nation, if it worked resolutely and adopted the spartan way of life until our increasing resources helped us to loosen our belts.

For the bogey of defence too we had an answer. We could not accept the theory or the practical advice of His Majesty's Government's defence advisers. We quoted instances where even more apart regions than East and West Pakistan existed and the Powers which were interested in them helped and defended them if it suited their overall interest in war and in peace. One of us remarked that Islam meant peace and we intended to live in peace with all after gaining our homeland. And if we were forced to take on a fight we would have to do so and defend ourselves with all our resources, physical, material and moral. None of us felt that if we got Pakistan in some shape or form, giving us independence from both the British and the Hindus and with the British relinquishing power in our sub-continent, Hindu India and the Muslim Pakistan would not live as good neighbours in complete peace and harmony, each priding in the other's strength, each ready to lend a helping hand in the defence of the other in times of aggression from abroad. Events since August 1947 have proven, time and again, how optimistic we were in so thinking and how we have been plagued with India's constant bullying tactics and territorial ambitions carried out through sheer brute force against all canons of international law and morality. We have had bitter experience of India's flagrant breach of international agreements solemnly entered into as in the case of the UN agreement to hold a free and unfettered plebiscite in Kashmir to determine the will of the people in regard to accession either to India or to Pakistan. Furthermore, how out-of-date and unjustified the views of the Cabinet Mission have proven in the context of the present-day events does not need elaboration or explanation as they are glaringly obvious to any student of international affairs.

In reply to the statement of Sir Stafford Cripps that we would inherit a poor economy and would trail India by a long distance, the answer was simple: "We do not agree with your point of view. But even presuming what you foresee will be right, we would rather

live as a comparatively poor and under-developed nation free from alien domination than eke out an existence as a subjugated minority and as second-class citizens in a rich and economically advanced India dominated by an overwhelming majority of Hindus." Again, subsequent events have proven how wrong the British Cabinet Mission turned out to be, as we have, by the grace of Allah, not done badly since Partition. Although we have, no doubt, passed through trying and anxious times more than once, our economy today, comparatively speaking, is sounder than that of India. Finally, the world is now satisfied that Muslims in the so-called secular State of India, except for a few show-boys propped up to deceive the outside world, are no more than second-class citizens of the country—no better than the Harijans and always in fear of mortal attack, arson and forcible ejection from their homes and hearths and even from their country!

These were the main points round which the talks of the evening, before, during and after dinner, revolved until we took leave at about midnight. We three, known to the British as the young blood of the Muslim League, did not sit idle. We had our answers for every point they raised and our answers were the same as the Qaid had very often given on the platform, in speeches, in informal conversation with the representatives of the foreign press who interviewed him and in his talks with others. It was hinted that we should appreciate facts as they stood and shed emotion in considering them. The Mission knew very well that we would immediately report to our leader. They may have thought that, in reporting their views, we might perhaps express our agreement with some of them and would try to persuade the Qaid to accept them.

Why the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and I had earned the reputation of having Mr. Jinnah's ear is more than either of us was able to appreciate. Those who worked closely with the Qaid knew full well that he took a little time to arrive at a decision but once taken, no one, however close, could persuade him to change it.

As it was about midnight, we did not go to 10, Aurangzeb Road to disturb the Qaid. But Mahmudabad and I were with him after breakfast the next morning and reported in detail the dinner proceedings of the previous evening. He was seated in his green leather chair next to the fireplace in his study. He smoked cigarette after cigarette and gave us a patient hearing, rarely interjecting and not cutting us short. When I talked of the bogey of viability of our future State, he asked what they meant by the word "viable". I told him the meaning and he replied: "No wonder I did not know the meaning. The

thought that Pakistan would not be able to live and progress on her own resources has never crossed my mind". He, however, with a smile of satisfaction appreciated our duel with the giants of the British Government. Once he said "Well done" and at another time he interjected thus: "Good; that was a good reply".

Liaquat Ali Khan was having dinner with the Mission that night. The Qaid was meeting the Mission a day (or two) after Liaquat.

Throughout the Cabinet Mission's stay in Delhi and Simla, Mahmudabad and I acted as liaison officers and reporters of the Qaid. Woodbrow Wyatt was probably detailed to keep contact with us and we were certainly in close contact with him. We got quite a bit of information on what was happening in the Congress camp and also came to learn some of their reactions to the various suggestions made by the Mission. Maybe, he kept back from us what he thought would not be prudent to tell. Nevertheless, our contact with him was useful and when we scooped any worthwhile information, we served it hot and quick to our Chief.

Many a time Woodrow would present arguments in support of the Mission's talks and suggestions and when the proposals were finally formulated and presented, he would spend hours in trying to convince us that it would be a folly to reject or call for major amendments. He would say that the task of the Mission would be insuperable and the Congress would slip away if we did not co-operate and accept the proposals of the three British Ministers who had "a world of goodwill and understanding for the Muslims of India."

During the stay of the Cabinet Mission in British India, the Muslim League Working Committee, except for some days, was in daily session; first in New Delhi and later at Simla. In the course of the negotiations which were prolonged and the complexion of which changed frequently and sometimes seriously, the Qaid-e-Azam remained the coolest member of the High Command. Proposals and counter-proposals emanated from the Congress, the Muslim League and, of course, the Cabinet Mission.

At long, last all began to tire and the Mission grew more weary than the others. Time was passing fast and yet nothing tangible was evidently achieved. The Mission who were anxious to return home and were tired of treading the same familiar ground and hearing the arguments with little change, if any, from the Muslim League and the Congress, decided to put forward their own proposals on a "take it or

leave it" basis to the Hindu and Muslim nations of the sub-continent, through their respective political organisations.

I remember the tense atmosphere when the sealed envelope from the Cabinet Mission Secretariat was handed to the Qaid-e-Azam's Secretary. The Qaid read the contents once and glanced through them a second time, and thereafter the Muslim League Working Committee met. Every line and every word of the communication was studied with care by the members and the subject-matter of the letter was thrown open for discussion.

The consensus of opinion was that the Mission had placed us on the horns of a dilemma. We were given the option of accepting what the Mission offered, in which we were clearly told no change of a major nature could be made, or of rejecting their proposal in toto and thereby drawing upon ourselves the responsibility for the failure of the Mission and with it the consequences which might follow. We talked and talked. The pros and cons of a rejection were considered and reconsidered. No modification being permitted, nothing could be done to help our cause.

Just before the final session of the Working Committee terminated, it was agreed that the proposal may be accepted, although it did not go far enough to meet our demands and aspirations. But it was left to the President to take the final decision. This was not the first occasion when the brunt of the responsibility was thrown on the President by his Working Committee. A suitable reply was drafted and signed, and a short while later, the Qaid had dinner and repaired to bed.

I saw him the next morning immediately after breakfast. He appeared more rested and cheerful. I told him that he looked more cheerful than he had at any time during the past few days. He replied: "Naturally. I have slept very little during the last week. My brain worked incessantly. I have tossed in bed from one side to the other, thinking and worrying about what we should do. The responsibility has been so heavy that it has taken much out of me. I have thought much in bed and have prayed for guidance, because the decision I was called upon to make would mar or make the destiny of our nation. Now that the die has been cast and the decision made and communicated to Pethick-Lawrence, I feel as carefree as does a student after he has finished his last examination paper".

The day had not yet passed when he began to worry again. He was not sure that the decision to accept was the right one and yet the

alternative, rejection, would have carried serious consequences. It appeared that on reconsideration he would rather have rejected the proposal. But it was too late. The decision had been taken and communicated. All that he could do was to hope that the Congress Working Committee would either reject the proposal or ask for such amendments or put such interpretation on it as would vitiate their acceptance of it.

The period of suspense was, however, not unbearably long. News came through that the Congress had not unreservedly accepted the Plan. The report of the acceptance with reservations by the Congress made the air of Simla more refreshing and bracing for us Muslims. The Qaid was pleased. The blame would now fall upon the Congress, and the Muslim League would be able to extricate itself from a difficult situation.

I shall give a summary of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and then show how the Congress mauled and sabotaged it while pretending to accept it. The Cabinet Mission came forward on May 16, 1946 with an ingeniously conceived plan for a three-tier Constitution, envisaging autonomous Provinces, Groups of such Provinces as wished to take certain subjects in common and a Federal Centre or Union limited to three subjects—Defence, External Affairs and Communications. The Constituent Assembly was to be formed as follows: (a) each province would be allotted a total number or seats proportionate to its population, roughly in the ratio of one to a million as the nearest substitute for representation by adult suffrage, (b) this provincial allocation of seats would be divided between the main communities in each province in proportion to their population, (c) the representatives allocated to each community would be elected by members of that community in the Provincial Assembly. Any question raising a major communal issue in the Union Legislature would require for its decision a majority of the representatives present and voting of each of the two major communities as well as a majority of all the members present and voting. The Constitutions of the Union and Groups were to have a provision whereby any province could, by a majority vote of its Legislature, call for a reconsideration of the terms of the Constitution after an initial period of ten years and at ten-yearly intervals thereafter.

The crux of the whole Plan from the Muslim point of view, however, was the provision relating to sections of the constitution-making body and grouping of Provinces. It was clearly laid down that after a preliminary meeting of the constitution-making body at



Muslim League Legislators' Session at Delhi—April, 1946 I am sitting in the second row (left with Khwaja Nazimuddin)

“We have lost the fulness of our character. And what is character? Highest sense of honour, and the highest sense of integrity-conviction-incorruptibility, readiness at any time to efface oneself for the collective good of the nation.”

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at Muslim Legislators' Convention, Delhi, April 11, 1946.

Is Britain going to decide the destiny of hundred million Muslims? No, nobody can. They can obstruct, they can delay for a little while, but they cannot stop us from our goal. Let us, therefore, rise at the conclusion of this historic convention full of hope, courage and faith. Insha Allah, we shall win.

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at the conclusion of the Muslim Legislators' Convention, Delhi, 11 April, 1946.

211

which the general order of business would be decided and a Chairman and other Officers elected, the Provincial representatives would divide up into three sections—A (consisting of Hindu-majority Provinces); B (consisting of the Punjab, N W F P, Baluchistan and Sind) and C (consisting of Bengal and Assam). According to paragraph 15 (5) 'Provinces should be free to form Groups with executives and legislatures and each Group could determine the Provincial subject to be taken in common.' The sections according to para 19 (v) would 'proceed to settle the Provincial constitutions for the Provinces included in each section and shall also decide whether any Group constitution shall be set up for those Provinces and, if so, with what Provincial subjects the Groups should deal'². Provinces were to have power to opt out of the Groups in accordance with the provisions of sub-clause (viii) which were as follows: "As soon as the new Constitutional arrangements have come into operation it shall be open to any Province to elect to come out of any Group in which it has been placed. Such a decision shall be taken by the new Legislature of the Province after the first general election under the new Constitution". It was only after the Group and the Provincial Constitutions had been settled by the three sections that they would reassemble together with representatives of Indian States to settle the Union Constitution.

The meaning of the Provisions relating to sections and grouping was clear and did not lend itself to different interpretations. But the Congress leaders from Mr. Gandhi downward began to twist and misconstrue the provisions as soon as the Statement was out. Mr. Gandhi's comments as reproduced in V. P. Menon's book 'The Transfer of Power in India' are as follows: "The Cabinet Mission's Statement is not an award. The Mission had tried but failed to bring the parties together and so they recommended to the country what in their opinion was worthy of acceptance by it. It was open to the Constituent Assembly to vary the proposals, to reject or improve upon them; otherwise the Constituent Assembly could not be a sovereign body. Thus the Mission had suggested certain subjects for the Union Centre; the Constituent Assembly could, if they chose, add to them or reduce them. Similarly it was open to the Constituent Assembly to abolish the distinction of Muslims and non-Muslims which the Mission had felt forced to recognise. As regards grouping, no province could be compelled to belong to a Group against its will".

The Congress Working Committee on May 24, 1946, adopted a

¹ V.P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.

² *Ibid.*

resolution asserting that it found "the provision for initial grouping inconsistent with the freedom promised to the provinces in this respect. In order to retain the recommendatory character of the Statement and to make the clauses consistent with each other, the Committee read paragraph 15 to mean that, in the first instance, the respective provinces shall make their choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed".³ The interpretations put forward by Mr. Gandhi and the Congress Working Committee were unwarranted and clearly opposed both to the letter and spirit of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, so much so that the Mission itself felt constrained to rebut them by its Statement of May 25 which clarified the position as follows: "The interpretation put by the Congress resolution on paragraph 15 of the Statement (of May 16) to the effect that the provinces can in the first instance make the choice whether or not to belong to the section in which they are placed, does not accord with the Delegation's intentions. The reasons for the grouping of the provinces are well-known and this is an essential feature of the Scheme and can only be modified by agreement between the parties. The right to opt out of the Group after the constitution-making has been completed will be exercised by the people themselves since at the first general elections under the new provincial constitutions this question of opting out will obviously be a major issue and all those entitled to vote under the new franchise will be able to take their share in a truly democratic decision".⁴

Notwithstanding these authoritative explanations, the Congress persisted in its misinterpretations. By its resolution of June 25, the Congress Working Committee reiterated its objections to the limitation of the central authority and the system of grouping of provinces. The Congress President, Abul Kalam Azad, in communicating the resolution to the Viceroy stated that he and his party accepted the proposals and were prepared to work them with a view to achieving their objective, but that they adhered to their own interpretation of some of the provisions of the Statement such as that relating to the grouping of provinces. Clearly this was no acceptance at all of the Mission's Plan. The British Ministers, however, were anxious to proclaim to the world that their Mission was not a failure and they had succeeded in producing an agreed solution of the problem. They resorted to under-hand tactics and adopted an ostrich-like posture. Sir Stafford Cripps persuaded the Congress leaders to accept the long-term proposal even with their own interpretations. This grave accusation against the Cabinet Mission was made by the Qaid-e-

³ V. P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.

⁴ *Ibid.*

Azam in his speech before the Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 28, and to this day it remains unanswered.

Whatever doubts there might have existed about the Congress's real attitude and intentions regarding the Mission's Plan were dispelled by the speeches and statements of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru after he had taken over as the newly-elected President of the Congress in July 1946. True to his reputation for arrogance and impetuosity, Mr. Nehru launched into what his admiring biographer Michael Brecher calls 'one of the most fiery and provocative statements in his 40 years of public life'. Addressing the All-India Congress Committee at Bombay on July 7, Mr. Nehru said that so far as he could see, it was not a question of the Congress accepting any Plan, long or short. It was merely a question of their agreeing to enter the Constituent Assembly and nothing more than that. They would remain in that Assembly so long as they thought it was for India's good and they would come out when they thought it was injuring their cause. He asserted, "We are not bound by a single thing except that we have decided for the moment to go to the Constituent Assembly".⁵ Later, at a press conference on July 10, Mr. Nehru admitted that the Congress was bound by the procedure set down for election of members of the Constituent Assembly but he added, "What we do there, we are entirely and absolutely free to determine".⁶ He hoped, he said, that there would be no grouping because some States in Groups B and C will oppose it and added: "But I can say with every assurance and confidence that there is going to be finally no grouping there because Assam will not tolerate it under any circumstances, whatever. Thus you will see this grouping business, approached from any point of view, does not get us on at all".⁷

Dealing with the powers of the proposed Union Centre, Mr. Nehru said: "Defence and Communications would embrace a large number of industries necessary for their support. Foreign Affairs must inevitably include foreign trade policy. It was equally inevitable that the Union must raise its finances by taxation rather than by any system of contribution or doles from the Provinces. Further the Centre must obviously control currency and credit, and there must be an over-all authority to settle inter-provincial disputes and to deal with administrative or economic break-downs".⁸

Thus, it became clear as to how the Congress would use its 'brute

⁵ R. C. Majumdar: *History of the Freedom Movement in India* Vol. 3.

⁶ *Ibid.*

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ *Ibid.*

majority' in the Constituent Assembly in disregard of the vital terms and conditions it was supposed to have agreed to. Mr. Nehru's bellicose statements were naturally regarded as a clear breach of faith on the part of the Congress, being an outright repudiation of the basic terms and conditions on which the compromise plan of the Cabinet Mission rested and was supposed to be worked by the two main parties. Leonard Mosley in his book *The Last Days of The British Raj* observes: "It was a compromise plan which obviously could not afterwards be altered in favour of one side or the other. In the circumstances, Nehru's remarks were a direct act of sabotage". Another British writer Penderel Moon in his book *Divide and Quit* takes the same view: "Gandhi by persuading the Working Committee to reject the interim government had knocked down half of it. Nehru proceeded to demolish the rest of it". This view of Mr. Nehru's somersault on the question is not confined to public opinion outside the Congress circles. The well-known Hindu historian R.C. Majumdar in his *History of the Freedom Movement in India* Volume III criticises Mr. Nehru as follows: "Unfortunately, at this critical moment, when a peaceful settlement of India's future was almost within sight it was upset by some indiscreet utterances of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. In 1937 his outright rejection of Jinnah's offer of Congress-League Coalition Ministry ruined the last chance of Hindu-Muslim settlement. His observations in 1946 destroyed the last chance—though a remote one—of a free, united India".

Even a close friend and colleague of Mr. Nehru like Maulana Abul Kalam Azad, about whose loyalty to the Hindu Congress it could be said that he was 'more loyal than the King', in his book *India Wins Freedom* characterises Mr. Nehru's stand as "one of those unfortunate events which changed the course of history". Referring to Mr. Nehru's statement that the Congress would enter the Constituent Assembly 'completely unfettered by agreements and free to meet all situations as they arise', and the Congress regarded itself free to change or modify the Cabinet Mission's Plan as it thought best, Azad says: "I must place on record that Jawaharlal's statement was wrong. It was not correct to say that Congress was free to modify the Plan as it pleased. We had, in fact, agreed that the Central Government would be federal. There would be a compulsory list of three subjects while all other subjects remained in the provincial sphere. We had further agreed that there would be the three Sections viz. A, B and C in which the provinces would be grouped. These matters could not be changed unilaterally by Congress without the consent of other parties to the agreement".⁹

⁹ Abul Kalam Azad: *India Wins Freedom*.

the Congress Party in Assam in particular was egged on by the Congress leaders to refuse to join Section C from the very beginning. The Assam Premier, Gopinath Bardoloi, submitted a memorandum to the Congress Working Committee opposing the grouping of Assam and Bengal. According to Azad, Mr. Gandhi 'gave his support to Bardoloi' and 'to the interpretation suggested by the leaders from Assam'. Bardoloi got the Assam Legislature to pass a resolution giving a mandate not only to the Congress members but also the Muslim representatives elected by a separate bloc of Muslim members to have nothing to do with the "C" Group from the very beginning. Mr. Nehru in a letter to Bardoloi published on September 30, 1946 said: "I fully appreciate the feeling in Assam in regard to the Sections or the grouping and I think that our position will safeguard your sentiment completely.... Our position is clear that provincial autonomy must be maintained and a province must decide both about grouping and its own constitution. It is true that we have accepted the Federal Court's decision in regard to the interpretation and we must abide by that decision of ours. But in no event we are going to agree to a province like Assam being forced against its will to do anything".¹⁰ Maulana Azad in his book takes a different view and admits: "The Cabinet Mission had held that the interpretation of the League on this point was correct. Mr. Jinnah argued that it was on the basis of the distribution of powers among the Centre, the Provinces and the Groups that he had persuaded the League to accept the Plan. Assam Congress leaders did not agree and, after some hesitation, Gandhiji, as I have already said, gave his support to the interpretation suggested by the leaders from Assam. In fairness, I have to admit that there was force in Mr. Jinnah's contention".¹¹ However, at the time these attempts to sabotage the Plan were being made by the Congress leaders, Maulana Azad kept silent, and in fact he, as President of the Congress, was as much party to the mutilation of the Cabinet Mission's Plan as Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru.

In July 1946, the situation was already very tense as a result of the Cabinet Mission's breach of faith in the matter of formation of Interim Government and the Congress's deliberate attempt at mutilation of the Mission's long-term plan which led to withdrawal of the Muslim League's acceptance of the Plan. It was further aggravated by another ill-advised step which the Viceroy was directed to take by Mr. Attlee's Government. On July 22 the Viceroy addressed letters to the Presidents of the Congress and the Muslim League setting out another

¹⁰ Quoted in Qaid-e-Azam's letter to the Viceroy dt. 5th November 1946.

¹¹ Abul Kalam Azad: *India Wins Freedom*.

proposal for setting up an Interim Government on new lines which amounted to a surrender to the Congress demands and a repudiation of all pledges and assurances previously given to the Muslim League. The proposal envisaged an Interim Government of 14 (Congress 6, Muslim League 5, minority representatives 3 to be nominated by the Viceroy), no party to object to names submitted by the other party and the Congress and Muslim League to have an equitable (but not equal) share of the important portfolios; and the Viceroy would merely welcome a convention, if freely offered by the Congress, that major communal issues could only be decided by the consent of both the major parties. The Qaid-e-Azam pointed out to the Viceroy the deviations from the original proposal of June 16 which were most detrimental to Muslim interests and obviously intended to appease the Congress. Instead of meeting the Qaid-e-Azam's objections, the Viceroy merely replied that in view of the League's decision to withdraw its acceptance of the long-term plan he had decided to invite the Congress to make proposals for an Interim Government and graciously added that if they made a reasonable offer of a coalition he could rely on the Qaid-e-Azam for a ready response.

The action on the part of the Viceroy was wrong and unjustifiable. The Congress had never accepted the long-term plan and the League's decision was a natural sequel to the Congress's rejection of the plan. If there was a commitment to form an Interim Government as representative as possible of those who had accepted the Statement of May 16, it had been flagrantly broken when the Viceroy had refused to proceed with the formation of the Interim Government according to the Cabinet Mission's own proposal of June 16. The procedure that the Viceroy was now following in inviting one of the parties to make proposals for Interim Government was wrong and without sanction, because the Viceroy was not a constitutional Governor-General as in the self-governing Dominions.

The Interim Government was only the Executive Council under the Government of India Act of 1919 and it was not responsible to the Legislature. It was the Viceroy's duty to form the Executive Council and he was not entitled to pass on the initiative to the leader of one political party, thus seriously prejudicing the rights and interests of the other political elements who had an equal claim for representation on the Council. The Viceroy's action was a breach of the pledges given by successive British Governments to the Muslims and an act of partisanship.

The President of the Congress, Mr. Nehru, wrote to the Qaid-e-

Azam to seek his co-operation in the formation of a Coalition Government. The Qaid-e-Azam replied that if the Viceroy had commissioned Mr. Nehru to form an Executive Council and had already agreed to accept and act upon his advice, he (Qaid-e-Azam) could not accept such a position. He, however, was willing to see Mr. Nehru. The meeting took place at the Qaid-e-Azam's house at Bombay on August 15 but nothing came out of it. Mr. Nehru then submitted a list of names including 'quisling' Muslims which was accepted by the Viceroy and the Interim Government was to take office on September 2.

A one-party government was thus installed but Lord Wavell seemed to be conscious of the serious consequences it might lead to. On August 24, he broadcast a talk over the Radio in which he regretted that it had not been possible to secure a coalition, though, as he claimed, assurances had been given that the scheme of constitution-making would be worked in accordance with the procedure laid down and added that the Muslim League need have no fear of being out-voted on any essential issue. This was not factually correct. No assurance either by the British Government or the Congress had been given about the scheme of constitution-making being worked according to the procedure laid down, the safeguard relating to decisions on major communal issues had been discarded and the Congress had offered no convention in this behalf. It had included 'quisling' Muslims in the Interim Government.

After making the announcement about the Interim Government, the Viceroy flew post-haste to Calcutta to see for himself the aftermath of the tragic happenings. What he saw there seemed to convince him of the danger of carrying on with a one-party Government. On return from Calcutta he sent for Mr. Gandhi and Mr. Nehru and impressed on them the imperative need for making a clear declaration of Congress willingness to abide by the procedure laid down in paragraph 19 (VIII) of the May 16 Statement, namely provinces could exercise the right to opt out of their groups only after the new constitutional arrangements had come into operation and the first general elections had been held, so that the way might be opened for the League to come into the Interim Government and also join the Constituent Assembly. But the Congress leaders, now firmly in the saddle, rejected the Viceroy's suggestion. He, however, seemed to be realising more and more the importance of enlisting the Muslim League's co-operation; so he invited the Qaid-e-Azam for consultations which took place in Delhi on September 16 and subsequent days. At the same time, negotiations also took place between Mr. Nehru and Qaid-e-Azam on the basis of a formula on which the Nawab of

Bhopal had obtained Mr. Gandhi's signature, namely "the Congress does not challenge and accepts that the Muslim League now is the authoritative, representative organisation of an overwhelming majority of the Muslims of India. As such and in accordance with democratic principles, they alone have today an unquestionable right to represent the Muslims of India. But the Congress cannot agree to any restrictions or limitations being put upon the Congress to choose such representatives as they think proper from amongst the members of the Congress as their representatives".¹² Mr. Nehru in the course of the negotiations expressed disapproval of the formula and sought to add a proviso that "for identical reasons the League recognises the Congress as the authoritative organisation representing all non-Muslims and such Muslims as have thrown in their lot with the Congress"¹³ However, the Qaid formulated a number of points for discussion but Mr. Nehru's reactions to them were unfavourable.

On the other hand, the Viceroy's response to the Qaid's demand was more accommodating. He made the following commitments:

Responsibility for selection of Scheduled Caste representative was his; each party must be equally free to nominate its own representatives; it was impossible to decide major matters of policy if one of the main parties were strongly against a course of action proposed and a Coalition Government either works by a process of mutual adjustments or does not work at all; he would arrange for a Muslim League member to preside over the Cabinet in the absence of the Governor-General and the Vice-President and also nominate a Muslim League member as Vice-Chairman of the Co-ordination Committee of the Cabinet; both parties would be consulted before filling a vacancy in the seats of minorities; subject to minority representatives having a share in the major portfolios there could be equal distribution of the important portfolios between the League and the Congress.

The League Working Committee by its resolution passed on October 13 declared that, though it did not approve of the basis and scheme of formation of the Interim Government, it felt that since, according to the Viceroy's decision, they had a right to nominate five members, in the interest of the Muslims and other communities it would be fatal to leave the entire field of administration in the hands of the Congress. The Committee, therefore, decided to nominate five members on behalf of the Muslim League in terms of the Viceroy's broadcast of August 24 and his letters to the Qaid-e-Azam. To

¹² Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad: *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*.
¹³ *Ibid*.

neutralise the Congress's insistence on including a member of their choice in their quota, the Muslim League used its freedom of choice to nominate in its quota a representative of the Scheduled Caste of Bengal who had been co-operating with the Muslim League. Some members of the Working Committee tried to persuade the Qaid to join the Interim Government but he firmly declined, for he said he had to remain outside to do his work, namely carry on the struggle for Pakistan during the most difficult and decisive stage. The following were the League's representatives in the Interim Government: (1. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan—Finance, (2. Mr. I. I. Chundrigar—Commerce, (3. Sardar Abdur Rab Nishtar—Communications, (4. Mr. Ghazanfar Ali Khan—Health, (5. Mr. Jogendra Nath Mandal—Law. The Congress exhibited its petty-mindedness in the matter of re-allocation of portfolios. The Viceroy wanted one of the portfolios, External Affairs, Defence or Home, to be given to the League. But the Congress would not agree. Finally, it consented to the allocation of Finance to the League perhaps in the belief that the League would not be able to handle this subject. But it was to be disillusioned in the matter in the following months.

The League's entry into the Interim Government, when the odds were against us, was a strategic triumph. The Qaid succeeded in putting the League into the Interim Government in its own right and without any commitment to join the Constituent Assembly in the way the Congress wanted it to join. The procedure originally followed by the Viceroy in commissioning one party to form the Government stood reversed. The League entered the Interim Government as a matter of right and not as a matter of grace and concession from the Congress. It did so as a separate and independent bloc without recognising Mr. Nehru's leadership of the so-called Cabinet. Mr. Nehru had been trying to build the myth of a Cabinet with himself as *de facto* Prime Minister. The myth was no more. The reconstituted Government was the Executive Council under the Government of India Act of 1919. The League was certainly not opposed to the transfer of more power to Indian hands. But if the position claimed by Mr. Nehru for himself and the Interim Government were recognised, it would have meant pre-judging the constitutional issue in a sense favourable to Congress designs, namely a unitary Government for the whole of India responsible to a legislature dominated by the Hindu majority. The League had to guard against this danger, for it would have militated against the principle of Pakistan.

The Qaid-e-Azam told us that he had extracted the last ounce of concession from the Viceroy in difficult circumstances and the League's

representatives were going in as 'watch-dogs' of Muslim interests. Their function was to safeguard vital Muslim interests and prevent the Congress from manipulating things in such a way as to thwart the establishment of Pakistan. When the horizon appeared dark, the Qaid again rose to heights of statesmanship and diplomacy and regained the initiative which paved the way for Pakistan's emergence as a sovereign state. He saved the whole of India from disaster which had loomed large with the formation of a one-party Government at the Centre.

XIV

LAST HOPE OF A UNITED INDIA

THE acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan with reservations and wrong interpretations by the Hindu Congress was tantamount to its rejection because the Plan, as presented to the main political parties of India, made it clear that it had to be accepted *in toto* and without reservation. The League's acceptance of the Plan was forthright; it was an honest attempt by the Qaid to arrive at an amicable and peaceful settlement with the Congress without sacrificing essential Muslim interests. In accepting the Plan the League was actuated by the following considerations: (1) The Muslim majority in sections B and C comprising *six undivided provinces* could frame both Provincial and Group constitutions with regard to all but three subjects and the framing of these constitutions was to precede that of the Union Constitution; (2) The provision relating to major communal issues could be used to safeguard Muslim interests in the Union Assembly and prevent the Union Centre from encroaching upon the autonomy of the Provinces and the Groups; (3) The Muslim majority in sections B and C would be in a position to negotiate with the Hindu majority in section A to ensure safeguards for minorities on reciprocal basis; (4) The whole constitution would be open to revision at the end of ten years and at ten yearly intervals which meant, by implication, that the Provinces and Groups would have freedom to opt out of the Union.

The Cabinet Mission had apparently turned down the demand for Pakistan which had caused jubilation in the Congress camp. This is evident from the following remarks of Mr. Nehru's paper the *National Herald*:* "Pakistan, the Pakistan of Mr. Jinnah's conception, receives a state burial in the document submitted by the Cabinet Mission. And lest there should be any doubt about its demise or any fear of the possibility of its resurrection, it is emphatically announced that the Cabinet Mission's sentence of death on Mr. Jinnah's Pakistan has already obtained the approval of the British Government". The petty-minded-

*Reproduced in Dr. I. H. Qureshi's *The Struggle for Pakistan*.

ness implicit in these remarks needs no comment. The Congress press forgot that it was not for any earthly power to pronounce sentence of death on a people's genuine urge for freedom. However, if the demand for Pakistan had really been buried by the Cabinet Mission's Plan, the Congress should have proceeded to accept and work the plan and not mutilate it by mis-interpretation.

During the protracted negotiations between the Cabinet Mission, the Congress and the Muslim League it had become clear that the representatives of the Labour Government in England were obviously biased in favour of the Congress and the Hindus. They were anxious to appease the Congress even at the cost of the interests of the Muslims and the minorities. Bearing this difficulty in mind, the Qaid-e-Azam, by skilful negotiations, had extracted the maximum amount of concessions from the Cabinet Mission. If the League rejected outright the compromise plan evolved by the Mission, it would have put itself out of court and there was every likelihood of the British Government transferring all power to the Congress, leaving the Muslims to their fate. It would not have been wise on the part of the League to take upon itself the onus of responsibility for wrecking the plan and thereby losing whatever sympathy there was for its case in London. The League, therefore, made a tactical move in accepting the plan, thus putting both the Cabinet Mission and the Congress in a position from which they would find it difficult to wriggle out.

The Cabinet Mission could not now go back on the terms they had themselves laid down. The Congress was taken by surprise as it thought the League would reject the plan and then it would be plain sailing for it.

Apparently the Cabinet Mission did not concede sovereign Pakistan which pleased the Congress circles. But the foundation and germs of Pakistan were implicit in the plan. The Congress pleasure was short-lived and, on realising its implications, they began to mis-interpret and twist the terms of the plan, particularly the grouping of the provinces. The Congress stand was unjustified and the onus of responsibility for the failure of the Plan thus fell on the Congress as the British Government's statement of December 6, 1946, clearly showed. The League lost nothing. The Congress by its own intransigence created a situation which forced even Mr. Attlee's Government to concede outright partition and Pakistan at a later stage.

It speaks volumes for the Qaid-e-Azam's statesmanship and persuasive powers and the trust reposed in his sagacity and integrity by the

Muslim nation that he was able to persuade the nation's representatives in the League Council to accept the Plan, even though it outwardly amounted to rejection of the idea of a separate sovereign Pakistan for which they had been fighting for seven years.

Even the venerable Lord Pethick-Lawrence, leader of the Cabinet Mission, whose pro-Congress sympathies were well-known, had to acknowledge "the substantial and vital concessions" made by the Muslim League in the interest of peaceful settlement, and he paid a tribute to the Qaid-e-Azam's "courage and statesmanship" in obtaining the League's approval for the Mission's Plan. The British writer E. W. R. Lumby, a member of the Cabinet Mission's staff, in his book *The Transfer of Power in India*, makes the following appreciative remarks: "In spite of Jinnah's insistence that the League's decision was that of the full Council, it was naturally and correctly regarded as mainly his work. As at Simla the previous month, he had shown himself capable of taking a positive and constructive line, thus confounding the critics who alleged that he invariably negated every proposal which fell far short of his vision of an undefined and impractical Pakistan, thereby exercising a veto on all constitutional advance. As at Simla too, he had contrived to make a concession without departing in any way from the basic principles of his Party".

I shall now deal with the short-term proposal relating to the setting up of an Interim Government put forward by the Cabinet Mission on June 16. The Viceroy, Lord Wavell, had definitely given the Qaid-e-Azam to understand that an Interim Government would be formed by reconstituting the Executive Council under the existing Constitution so as to consist of five Congress representatives, five Muslim League representatives, one Sikh and one Indian Christian or Anglo-Indian and that the important portfolios would be equally divided between the League and the Congress. This was an important consideration which led the League Council to accept the long-term plan of May 16. As the Congress opposed this proposal, the Viceroy dropped it and even denied having given any assurance about it to the Qaid-e-Azam. The Viceroy next suggested a Council of thirteen members—six Congress including a Scheduled Caste member, five Muslim League and two representatives of minorities. Again, the Congress turned it down although the Qaid-e-Azam was willing to place it before his Working Committee. Finally on June 16, the Viceroy and the Cabinet Mission issued a statement setting out their own proposal for the formation of an Interim Government. It envisaged an Executive Council of fourteen members—six Congress (including Scheduled Caste members), five Muslim League, one Sikh,

one Indian Christian and one Parsi. The names chosen by the Viceroy were mentioned.¹ The most important part of the announcement was paragraph 8 which stated that "In the event of the two major parties or either of them proving unwilling to join in the setting up of a Coalition Government on the above lines, it is the intention of the Viceroy to proceed with the formation of an Interim Government which will be as representative as possible of those willing to accept the statement of May 16".²

In reply to the Qaid-e-Azam's query the Viceroy furnished a number of important clarifications—no change of principle in the composition of the Council would be made nor would the number of 14 be changed without the consent of the major parties; in filling any vacancy among the representatives of minorities, the two main parties would be consulted; the proportion of members community-wise would not be varied without the agreement of the two parties; and finally, no decision on a major communal issue could be taken in the Interim Government, if the majority of either of the parties were opposed to it. In another communication dated June 22 the Viceroy informed the Qaid-e-Azam that there was a strong feeling in the Congress circles that a Muslim of their choice should be included among the representatives of the Congress but it would not be possible for him or the Cabinet Mission to accept such a request.³ The Viceroy had also communicated to the Qaid-e-Azam on June 4 the following assurance: "I can give you on behalf of the Cabinet Delegation my personal assurance that we do not propose to make any discrimination in the treatment of either party, and that we shall go ahead with the Plan as laid down in the Statement so far as circumstances permit if either party accepts but we hope that both parties will accept".⁴

The Congress again rejected the proposal for the formation of the Interim Government. It may be mentioned that the main reason for the Congress's rejection was the insistence of the so-called "Nationalist Muslims" backed by Mr. Gandhi to have a seat in the Interim Government, although it was clear to everybody that they had no following and no representative capacity whatsoever. The Congress Working Committee's decision was communicated to the Viceroy by about noon on June 25. Immediately after this, the Cabinet Mission saw the Qaid-e-Azam. During the interview there was no

1 M. A. Jinnah, Liaqat Ali Khan, Mohammed Ismail Khan, Khwaja Nazimuddin, Abdur Rab Nishtar, Jawaharlal Nehru, Vallabhbhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad, Hari Krishna Mehtab, Jagjivan Ram, Baldev Singh, N. P. Engineer, John Matthai.

2 V. P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.

3 *Ibid.*

4 Quoted in Khalid Bin Sayeed's *Pakistan—the Formative Phase*.

mention that the League was time-barred in accepting the proposal, or that it had been withdrawn. Sir Stafford Cripps made a somersault and put a wrong interpretation on para 8. He said that what the Cabinet Mission had intended was that any Party could join the Interim Government even if it accepted the Interim Government proposal only. This was clearly a misinterpretation of para 8. The Plan consisting of the long-term proposal and the short-term proposal stood as "a whole and could be accepted and rejected *in toto*". The Qaid immediately contradicted Sir Stafford Cripps and pointed out that according to paragraph 8 and the assurances given by the Viceroy, the League or any major party which accepts the long-term and the short-term proposals was entitled to be included in the Interim Government. I was told that at his last meeting with the Cabinet Mission rather hot words were exchanged between the Qaid and Sir Stafford Cripps over the latter's questionable interpretation. The explanation put forward by him was that since both parties having accepted the long-term plan were qualified to join the Interim Government a fresh attempt would be made by the Viceroy to form the Interim Government. Referring to this, the Qaid later remarked: "A fantastic and dishonest interpretation was put on the clause by that ingenious juggler of words, Cripps, and he debased his legal talents".⁵ Mr. Alexander, another member of the Delegation, intervened to say that the Mission had not arrived at any decision and wanted to know the Qaid-e-Azam's views. He also called the next morning at Qaid-e-Azam's residence, 10, Aurangzeb Road, and expressed regret over the previous day's unhappy discussions.

Immediately after the Qaid's interview with the Mission, the League Working Committee passed a resolution agreeing to join the Interim Government on the basis of the June 16 statement. Now clearly a situation had arisen which called for action in terms of para 8 of the June 16 statement. The plain meaning of the para was that if either of the two major parties—the Congress and the Muslim League—was unwilling to join the proposed Interim Government, the Viceroy should proceed to form the Government with the co-operation of the other major party and such other parties as accepted the statement of May 16. As already pointed out, Sir Stafford Cripps put a glaringly fantastic construction on para 8 in order to evade formation of the Interim Government. Even a British paper like the *Statesman* of New Delhi regretted that the Mission had gone back on their words and, in an outspoken editorial, observed: "Politicians may do so but it is not the business of statesmen to eat their words."

⁵ Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad: *Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah*.

They should not risk bold, sweeping, unequivocal public undertakings unless they mean them and can be relied upon to fulfil them. What was so emphatically considered needful and proper on June 16 cannot well, within ten days, have radically transformed its nature".⁸

Now what was the position? The Congress had not accepted the long-term plan in accordance with the explanation and clarification given by the Mission itself. It had definitely rejected the short-term proposal. The Viceroy was thus under no obligation to include the Congress in the proposed Interim Government. On the other hand, it was clearly the Viceroy's duty to proceed with the formation of the Interim Government even if the Congress refused to come in. The qualifying words "as representative as possible" in para 8 showed that the possibility of one of the parties remaining out had been visualised. Later, the Viceroy did, in fact, form the Interim Government with only one major party—the Congress—although it had not accepted the long-term plan as clarified by the Cabinet Mission. Thus a breach of faith was committed which was, to say the least, unworthy of responsible statesmen charged with the task of transferring power to the main elements of the Indian body-politic in a fair and just manner.

As I have pointed out before, the speeches and statements of the Congress President and other Congress leaders created a situation which wrecked all the efforts that had been made to bring about an amicable settlement of the constitutional problems of the sub-continent. Naturally, the Qaid-e-Azam could not remain silent. He took up the Congress challenge. The speeches of the British spokesmen in Parliament were far from convincing. They did not indicate as to what was the remedy if the Congress persisted in its misinterpretations and used its 'brute majority' in the Constituent Assembly to undermine the basic terms and conditions of the Cabinet Mission's Plan.

Qaid-e-Azam, therefore, called a meeting of the Working Committee and, at the same time, held an extraordinary meeting of the Muslim League Council at Bombay on July 27, 28, 29, 1946. Congress tactics were denounced, declaration was made that we no longer stood by our acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and as a mark of protest against the British Government's patent partiality towards the Hindu Congress, it was resolved that Muslims should renounce all British titles and honours. The League Council also declared that

the time had come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan and directed the Working Committee to prepare a programme of direct action.

I give below the actual resolution that was put to vote and carried amid enthusiastic scenes. Needless to state that it was what the Qaid had planned and wanted:

"Whereas the Council of the All-India Muslim League has resolved to reject the proposals embodied in the statement of the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy dated 16th May 1946 due to the intransigence of the Congress on the one hand, and the breach of faith with the Muslims by the British Government on the other; and whereas Muslim India has exhausted without success all efforts to find a peaceful solution of the Indian problem by compromise and constitutional means; and whereas the Congress is bent upon setting up Caste-Hindu raj in India with the connivance of the British; and whereas recent events have shown that power politics and not justice and fair play are the deciding factors in Indian affairs; and whereas it has become abundantly clear that the Muslims of India would not rest contented with anything less than the immediate establishment of an independent and fully sovereign State of Pakistan and would resist any attempt to impose any constitution-making machinery or any constitution, long-term or short-term, or the setting up of an Interim Government at the centre without the approval and consent of the Muslim League; the Council of the All-India Muslim League is convinced that now the time has come for the Muslim nation to resort to direct action to achieve Pakistan, to assert their just rights, to vindicate their honour and to get rid of the present British slavery and the contemplated future Caste-Hindu domination.

"This Council calls upon the Muslim nation to stand as one man behind their sole representative and authoritative organisation, the All-India Muslim League, and to be ready for every sacrifice.

"This Council directs the Working Committee to prepare forthwith a programme of direct action to carry out the policy enunciated above and to organise the Muslims for the coming struggle to be launched as and when necessary.

"As a protest against and in token of their deep resentment of the attitude of the British, this Council calls upon the Muslims to renounce forthwith the titles conferred upon them by the alien Government".

When the "Direct Action" Day resolution was passed, the Qaid stood up and spoke as follows:

"What we have done today is the most historic act in our history. Never have we in the whole history of the League done anything except by constitutional methods and by constitutionalism. But now we are obliged and forced into this position. This day we bid goodbye to constitutional methods".

He went on to say: "Throughout the fateful negotiations with the Cabinet Delegation and the Viceroy, the other two parties, the British and the Congress, held a pistol in their hand, the one of authority and arms and the other of mass struggle and non co-operation. Today we have also forged a pistol and are in a position to use it". Thundering applause of those assembled greeted this spirited and bold declaration as they had not heard their leader speak in this strain ever before.

We could well appreciate his anger, disgust and frustration. He had done all that was in his power to arrive at an honourable settlement—a settlement which gave to the Muslims an honourable position under the sun and, at the same time, preserved some kind of union of the sub-continent. But to no effect. Congress was in no mind or mood to share power in the sub-continent. Its arrogance was patent and it was this arrogance which eventually brought about the partition of India. At first, in utter disgust, the Congress leaders like Patel and later Nehru, were happy to rid themselves of the Muslim nuisance but it did not take long before remorse set in on the realisation that the Congress had, in haste, committed a grave error. As a result, upto now we are being harassed and embarrassed each day of the year in the expectation that Pakistan will crack up and India will take us back as a father does his erring son. Nonetheless, thanks to our Creator, we continue not only to be free but also to progress. And so we shall remain with Allah's help. The seventeen days' war (which started on September 6, 1965) which India forced upon us has given the world ample proof, if proof were necessary, of our mettle and determination to live as a sovereign nation.

The day fixed for Direct Action was August 16, 1946. I remember the scene when each one of the title-holders present at the Council meeting walked up to the dais and announced his renouncement amidst loud cheers and vociferous appreciation. I also remember the humorous scene when Sir Saadullah, the former Chief Minister of Assam, renounced his knighthood with such vehemence that his dentures parted from his gums and found a resting place in the palm of his right hand.

The observations of a powerful pro-Congress weekly paper of Bombay, the *Blitz*, on the decisions of the Bombay session of the Muslim League Council are noteworthy: "The worst enemies of the Muslim League cannot help envying the leadership of Mr. Jinnah. Last week's cataclysmic transformation of the League from the

reactionary racket of the Muslim Nawabs, Noons and Knights into a revolutionary mass organisation dedicated, by word if not by deed, to an anti-imperialist struggle, compels us to express the sneaking national wish that a diplomat and strategist of Jinnah's proven calibre were at the helm of the Indian National Congress. There is no denying the fact that by his latest master-stroke of diplomacy Jinnah outbid, outwitted and out-manoeuvred the British and the Congress alike and confounded the common national indictment that the Muslim League is a parasite of British Imperialism".⁷

The Muslim League's strong reaction to their perfidious attitude shook the Congress leaders out of their complacency. They had underrated the qualities and resourcefulness of the Qaid-e-Azam's leadership and the guts of the Muslim nation for which they had to pay. They now began to explain that their objection was not to the principle of grouping but to grouping being forced upon a province placed in the same section and that by using the term 'sovereign' they did not mean that the Constituent Assembly was unfettered by any conditions and would be free to make its decisions by a majority vote but that it would not be subject to outside control. The Congress Working Committee which was faced with a dilemma created by its own President's utterances made a half-hearted attempt, through vague verbosity, to explain away its position and pose as if it had met the Muslim League's objections. Its resolution stated, *inter alia*, that while they did not approve of all the proposals contained in the statement of May 16, they accepted the scheme in its entirety. But the resolution immediately qualified the acceptance by asserting that they interpreted it "so as to resolve the inconsistencies contained in it and fill the omissions in accordance with the principles laid down in the Statement. They hold that provincial autonomy is a basic provision and each province has the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not. Questions of interpretation will be decided by the procedure laid down in the Statement itself and the Congress will advise its representatives to function accordingly".⁸

Shorn of its verbiage and apparently conciliatory tone, the resolution was merely a reiteration of the position originally taken by the Congress. The Qaid-e-Azam in a statement dated August 13, 1946, thoroughly exposed the show of reasonableness put up by the Congress. He pointed out that the Congress claim freedom to resolve any inconsistency and fill any omission although that was not in accordance

⁷ Quoted in Abdul Wahid Khan's *India Wins Freedom, the Other Side*.

⁸ V. P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.

with the principle laid down in the Statement. The Congress continued to hold that every province had the right to decide whether to form or join a group or not and that questions of interpretation would be decided by the procedure laid down in the Statement itself. The Qaid-e-Azam pointed out that no such procedure was laid down for interpreting the Statement or any clause thereof except the 'brute majority'. As for the Congress reference to 'internal limitations' the Qaid-e-Azam posed the question as to what were these limitations which could not be overruled by a sovereign Constituent Assembly and what was the remedy if any decisions were taken by the Assembly which were repugnant, *ultra vires*, or incompetent of the Assembly to adopt. The Qaid-e-Azam concluded that the situation remained as it was and they were where they were. The Congress had yet to realise that the blunder they had committed could not be rectified by mere verbal jugglery. So far as we were concerned, this decision of the Congress was an after-thought to save the situation for the Hindus. The horse had, in the meantime, bolted from the stable, and it was meaningless to close the door thereafter. The League led by the Qaid had moved to a new forward post!

Referring to the Muslim League's decision to withdraw its acceptance of the Cabinet Mission's Plan, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad makes a candid confession: "I was extremely perturbed by this new development. I saw that the scheme for which I had worked so hard was being destroyed through our own action".⁹ They did not expect such a forthright and bold stand on the part of the League and were under the impression that, after some bargaining, the Qaid would take considerably less than what the League had demanded. That their calculations were absolutely mistaken is clear from the stand taken by the Muslim League to which reference has already been made.

Whilst the Hindus, to serve their own political ends, interpreted 'Direct Action' day in its literal bellicose sense and gave this interpretation countrywide publicity, our basic purpose in observing this day, as publicly stated, was to hold meetings all over India with the object of explaining to the Muslims and to the world the reason for the final rejection of the Cabinet Mission's Plan by the League and, at the same time, to expose and condemn the tactics resorted to by the British Government. But as there were misgivings about 'Direct Action', the All-India Muslim League Working Committee again met at Bombay on August 2, 1946, to remove them and resolved:

⁹ Abul Kalam Azad: *India Wins Freedom*.

Qaid-e-Azam: Speech at Lahore,
October 30, 1947.

“Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers. You have only to develop the spirit of ‘Mujahids’. You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory.”

A Working Committee meeting at Simla—1946

By courtesy of Mohitarama Fatima Jinnah



"...and further calls upon the Muslims of India to suspend all business on August 16, 1946, and to observe complete hartal".

Hartal was observed by Muslims and meetings were held throughout India. Nowhere was there any disturbance but in Calcutta, violence started by the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha engulfed the city in an orgy of loot, arson and killings in which the worst sufferers were the Muslims.

We were in the Maidan getting ready for the mammoth meeting at which the 'Direct Action' resolution was to be explained. It is sheer calumny to suggest that the Muslims had made preparations to start a riot and kill the Hindus on that day. They were merely coming to the Maidan unarmed to listen to the speeches of their leaders, leaving their children and womenfolk in the *Mohallas* and *Bustees*.¹⁰ They would not have done so if they had any evil intentions. In any case, they constituted only 24 per cent of the population of Calcutta and they would not choose this city to indulge in rioting which in any event was not in their interest.

It is true that the Muslims declared August 16 as a public holiday to celebrate the day of 'Direct Action' but in no circumstances was 'Direct Action' meant to be a battle royal or carnage. It was a day to record an emphatic protest against the British Government's policy in by-passing the Muslim League and to explain the 'Direct Action' resolution of the League Council. August 16 was declared a public holiday because we, the Muslim Leaguers, wanted to have a record turnout from every corner of Calcutta at the Ochterloney Monument standing in the famous Maidan of Calcutta. We expected a gathering of between two and three hundred thousand Muslims, coming in processions and jathas from all over the city.

It was around 11.30 in the morning that, while working near the monument, I received news that at the Circular Road end of Corporation Street, Hindus were throwing bottles and brickbats at the Muslim processionists passing through the street below. Later, a few more incidents were reported and at about 3.30 in the afternoon, news came that the Sikhs and Hindus in Bhawanipur District had fallen upon Muslim women and children. By that time, murder, loot and arson had already started in several areas of Calcutta. Had it been the plan of the Muslims to kill the Hindus and a few Sikhs, they would not have left their women and children in their *Bustees* and homes and

¹⁰ Poor people's hutments.

trooped towards the Maidan knowing that if they killed a few Hindus, thousands of their women and children would be mercilessly massacred.

I rushed to Bhawanipur where I was almost killed by a Sikh who thrust his sword through the ventilator of the driving window of my car. It was sheer instinct of self-preservation which made me throw my body as far back as I could. The sword passed my chest with a clearance of about two inches without inflicting injury. This was not the only attempt on my life during the three frightening days through which the citizens of Calcutta lived. On two other occasions, too, God willed that I should not die.

During the three agonizing days I engaged myself for sixteen and eighteen hours a day in picking up dying and wounded Muslims from Hindu quarters and Hindus dying and wounded from Muslim quarters and rushing them to hospital for urgent treatment. My blood-spattered car had to be washed inside and out, every morning. Thousands of innocent men, women and children were brutally massacred bringing back to memory the days of Chengez and Halagu. Corpses lay in heaps on street corners and on roads, heaped like carcasses in a slaughter house. In *Bustees* where the minority was butchered without compunction and compassion, human beings had overnight become irrational beasts—a terrible state of affairs indeed!

I may state that the blame for not calling in the Army by the evening of August 16 must rest squarely on the shoulders of Sir Frederick Burrows, Governor of Bengal. He failed to quickly realise the gravity of the situation and to take action which would have stopped the carnage.

Furthermore, as I stated on the floor of the Bengal Legislative Assembly soon after the disturbances, I would have been the first person to advocate the public hanging of Mr. Suhrawardy, the Chief Minister of Bengal, if it was his intention to bring about the killing of a few Hindus and to sacrifice thousands of Muslims women and children in their homes in return. Only a fool and not Suhrawardy could have contemplated such a move. Not one of the nationally famous leaders and debaters of the Hindu Congress and Hindu Mahasabha had any answer to my statement. Once the killings started and the mob began to lose its mental balance, matters went completely out of control and the carnage that Calcutta presented to the world would always remain a disgraceful blot on the sheet of human history.

I have not seen a man work so hard and act so swiftly to try and control a conflagration as Suhrawardy. But, as I have said, human beings in Calcutta ceased to be human and it was only after the third day that Hindu and Muslim leaders got together and formed a peace committee which went round Calcutta begging the population in their joint names to control their emotions and to have respect for human life. At first the Congress and Hindu Mahasabha leadership had refused to give ear to Suhrawardy's appeal to join hands with him and the Muslim League in an effort to bring human passions, which had run riot, under control.

To sum up, it is not correct to accept the view that the Muslims started the disturbances and were responsible for them. What happened was that the Hindus, knowing the position, had under their clever and able leadership planned to meet the 'black day of Direct Action' with such direct action of their own as would not only put fear into the hearts of the Calcutta Muslims but frighten the rest of their brothers and sisters throughout the sub-continent. They wanted the Muslims to be so intimidated that they would forget their leadership and also their demand for independence from the Hindus. Their plan, of course, misfired because Muslim determination grew doubly strong as a result of the happenings in Calcutta. And this is not an expression of view but a fact of history.

A Hindu leader Mr. V. C. Dalvi, General Secretary of the All-India Lower Grade Postal Employees Union, in a press statement dated September 18, 1946 put the blame for the Calcutta riots squarely on the Congress. He said, "The Calcutta disturbances have been created by the Congress. The whole blame lies on the shoulders of their leaders. They made speeches in strong terms and challenged the Muslims. They asserted that they would crush the Muslims. Calcutta gave them a chance. I cannot understand why they did not avail themselves of that opportunity. On the one hand they say that the British should quit and on the other they say that the British should protect them. What sort of logic is this? Does it mean that with the help of the British bayonets they want to crush the Muslims? If that is so, it is really shameful that they should ask the British to quit India."*

Ian Stephens, former Editor of *Statesman*, was present in Calcutta when the riots broke out. The remarks he makes on the observance of the 'Direct Action' day and the happenings in Calcutta are significant: "Except in one city nothing of note except big meetings

*Morning News dated September 19, 1946.

happened on Direct Action day, August 16; and such evidence as can be got does not show that the League's central leadership planned anything much to happen.... The Day, it was explained, was simply to be one when the League Council's resolution would be publicly explained. 'It is nothing but a statement', said Mr. Jinnah, 'concerning the steps which we propose to take for self-preservation and self-defence'. It was 'no declaration of war' on anybody. The meetings would not in themselves be 'Direct Action' and those who came were asked to behave peacefully.... it is inconceivable that the members of the (Bengal) Ministry could have wanted an outbreak such as happened, if only because there was no possibility of the Muslims winning. Though they enjoyed a majority in Bengal as a whole, they were heavily outnumbered in the province's capital, their proportion of the population there in 1946 probably being less than 25 per cent.... Even perhaps during the first day's fighting and certainly during the second and third, Muslim losses were the worst. Apparently local Hindu organisations, hearing rumours that some sort of Muslim attack was contemplated, had made formidable counter-preparations".¹¹

The Qaid, a peace-loving and constitutional-minded man, abhorred violence. The happenings in Calcutta on August 16 and the following two or three days upset and pained him beyond measure. His feelings indicated that, notwithstanding his external reserve, he was at heart intensely humane, for the sufferings of innocent humanity deeply affected him. For months he could not get over what had happened in Calcutta. He expressed his grief over the massacre of innocent Muslims and equally he was sorry over the death of those Hindus who had been killed though they had nothing to do with the political conflicts. I can recall what he told me about the lesson to be learnt from the Calcutta killings. He said: "This proves what treatment the Muslims should expect from the Hindu majority if they exist as a minority in undivided India".

The Calcutta incident was not the first nor the last of its kind; reports of disturbances in Bombay, Noakhali, Garhmukteswar (U P) and Bihar followed. Feelings were so inflamed by the large-scale killings of Muslims in Calcutta that they led to reprisals in Noakhali and Tipperah districts though grossly exaggerated reports about them appeared in the Congress press. According to the British Governor of Bengal himself, the number of those killed was low in the three

¹¹ These rumours, as already explained, were absolutely false and the Hindus took the offensive against unsuspecting and unprepared Muslims.

figure. Ian Stephens in his book *Pakistan* gives the lie to these exaggerated accounts as follows: "Most of the contemporary casualty reports were wild exaggerations; falling into an altogether different class from what happened before in Calcutta—and from what was soon to follow in Bihar. According to statements in the British Parliament, during November the number did not exceed 200. A subsequent on-the-spot tally issued in Calcutta in May 1947 gave totals for Noakhali itself of 220 and for Tipperah 65. Certainly the upheaval was much exploited by influentially placed Hindus for purposes of propaganda". Lt. General Sir Francis Taker, G. O. C-in-C, Eastern Command, who was in charge of troop dispositions in the disturbed areas, also testifies as follows: "Our estimate was that the total killed in this episode was well under three hundred. Terrible and deliberately false stories were blown over the world by a hysterical Hindu press, and these stories did infinite harm in India by kindling in Bihar and the United Provinces the Hindu desire for revenge".¹² These disturbances were highlighted beyond all proportion by Mr. Gandhi's extended tour in these districts. It further aggravated the situation, endangering the lives of Muslims in other provinces.

The virulent propaganda about the Noakhali incidents in the Hindu press resulted in terrible outrages of unprecedented magnitude perpetrated by the Hindus in Bihar. A dreadful wave of lawlessness, murder, rape, arson and loot prevailed for several days. The loss in life of Muslims was reported to be 30,000 and about 150,000 Muslims were rendered homeless and had to seek refuge in Bengal. Referring to this massacre, Ian Stephens says: "A new feature emerged: much of the butchery of hopelessly outnumbered Muslims bore every sign of careful prior planning being the first of several such abominations to occur during the next twelve months".¹³ The observations of Lt. General Taker, who was a witness of the gruesome scenes in Bihar, are even more revealing. In his book *While Memory Serves*, he says: "Of all the terrible doings of 1946 this was the most shocking. Its most dastardly side was that great mobs of Hindus turned suddenly but with every preparation for the deed, upon the few Muslims who had lived, and whose forefathers had lived, in amity and trust all their lives, among these very Hindu neighbours. It has never been ascertained who was the organising brain of this well-laid widely-planned plot of extirpation. All that we do know is that it went according to a fixed plan and schedule. Had it not been so, such large mobs, fully armed with prepared weapons, would never have collected in the

¹² Lt. Gen. Sir Francis Taker: *While Memory Serves*.
¹³ Ian Stephens: *Pakistan*.

time and moved with such obvious, fiendish intent from victim to victim. . . . The number of Muslim dead—men, women and children—in this short, savage killing was about 7000 to 8000. . . . The atrocities committed were terrible and a foretaste of those to come at Garhmukteswar a few weeks later. Women and their babies were cut up, butchered with an obscene devilry that a civilised people cannot even conjure forth in their imagination". The Bihar Muslims who sought refuge in Bengal were afforded all possible help and relief by the Bengal Provincial Muslim League and the Bengal Ministry. The Congress leaders of Bengal in their inveterate hostility towards the Muslims had sunk so low that they raised a cry even against the humanitarian act of the Bengal Government in providing relief to the persecuted Muslims of Bihar. The Qaid-e-Azam raised special funds for the Bihar Muslims and appointed a special committee whose members headed by Khwaja Nazimuddin and Malik Firoz Khan Noon toured the province of Bihar and arranged relief for the distressed Muslims.

The Bihar tragedy was followed by another horrible incident in U.P. At a Hindu religious fair at Garhmukteswar on the river Ganges, Hindu pilgrims set upon and exterminated the Muslims not only on the fair grounds but also in the nearby town. The dead were estimated at about 2000. The police stood by and did nothing to stop the killing. In Ian Stephens's words, "The U P Ministry succeeded in wrapping a heavy blanket of silence round the whole business".

Some idea of the diabolical acts committed at Garhmukteswar can be formed from Lt. General Toker's account: "Here at Garhmukteswar there was no provocation. . . . Practically every Muslim man, woman and child was murdered with appalling cruelty. Either here or later even pregnant women were ripped up, their unborn babies torn out and the infants' brains bashed out on walls and on the ground. There was rape, and women and children seized by the legs by burly fiends and torn apart. These hellions looted and burnt the *mela*¹⁴ stalls, casting the dead and dying into the flames. Most were killed with spears but some of the killings were by strangulation which, it will be recalled, was the ritual method of the thugs. The murderers' women stood about, laughing with glee at the burning booths, egging on their menfolk".¹⁵

I have mentioned the massacres which occurred in quick succession

¹⁴ *Mela* Local Fair.

¹⁵ Lt. Gen. Sir Frances Toker: *While Memory Serves*.

and have omitted the gruesome and heart-rending tales. I am firmly of the view that they were masterminded and very well planned by able men. They moved on the same pattern and with the same aim—to frighten the Muslims of India out of their wits and, in the process, make them abandon their following of Mr. Jinnah and their claim for a homeland. This plan, with God's help and Muslim determination, failed dismally. As I have stated earlier and which bears repetition, the Muslim masses reacted differently. The ugly happenings made them more determined to achieve their goal and through this determination they secured Pakistan shortly after these dastardly crimes against humanity.

About this time some important developments took place in certain provinces which show that the excesses of the British-Congress 'combine' were driving the Muslims to desperation. Owing to the machinations of this 'combine' there had been imposed on the Muslim-majority province of Punjab a Ministry dominated by the Congress and the Sikhs with a pliable Muslim Premier, Khizr Hayat Tiwana. In its desire to suppress the Muslims' urge for freedom, the Ministry clamped rigorous restrictions on civil liberties. It passed orders declaring illegal the Muslim League National Guard—a disciplined, peaceful organisation—which had never been guilty of disturbing peace. The police wanted to carry out a search of the office of the Provincial Muslim League. This move was resisted by the League leaders prominent among whom were Nawab of Mamdot, Mian Mumtaz Daultana, Sardar Shaukat Hayat Khan, Mian Iftikharuddin, Mian Bashir Ahmed and Malik Firoz Khan Noon. All sections of the Muslims joined the movement but the part played by Muslim women, including even purdah-observing women, was particularly remarkable. It remained non-communal and peaceful in character even in the face of provocation. The Government resorted to all manner of repression—lathi-charge, tear-gas, firing, large scale-arrests—but nothing could break the people's spirit. Ultimately the demand for restoration of civil liberties had to be conceded. The tide of popular indignation swept away the Ministry itself and Khizr Hayat Tiwana resigned on March 2, 1947. This was, indeed, a great victory for the forces working for Muslim freedom and the last citadel of British Power was laid low.

The leader of the Muslim League Party, the Nawab of Mamdot, was invited to form the Ministry and he accepted the invitation, for he now had the support of a majority of members in the Assembly. But before he could submit the list of Ministers, the Hindus and Sikhs resorted to violent demonstrations in a bid to prevent the formation

of the Ministry. The Sikh leader, Master Tara Singh, stood on the steps of the Assembly building and, brandishing his sword, shouted, "Pakistan Murdabad. Raj karega Khalsa, baqui rahe na koi" (Down with Pakistan. The Sikhs will rule, none else will survive.) The provocative utterances and activities of the Hindu and Sikh leaders naturally led to disturbances in certain towns which were used by the Governor, Sir Evan Jenkins, as a pretext for suspending constitutional government. He did not allow the Muslim League leader to form the Ministry and, instead, imposed Governor's rule. This was another glaring example of British animus against Muslims and partiality for the Hindus and Sikhs.

In two other provinces, Assam and NWFP the high-handed conduct of the Congress Ministries forced the Muslims to resort to direct action. Under an iniquitous policy called the Line System, the Congress Ministry in Assam was ruthlessly evicting the Bengali Muslim settlers and demolishing their settlements. The Muslim League's movement against the eviction policy continued for several months and was withdrawn only after the announcement of the Partition Plan. In NWFP too, the Muslim League had started a civil disobedience movement against the severe suppression of civil liberties by the Congress Ministry. Large numbers of Muslims led by Khan Abdul Qaiyum Khan and Pir of Manki Sharif courted arrest. The opponents of the Muslim League threw bombs at peaceful processions and provoked the demonstrators. The Congress Ministry adopted ruthless measures to suppress the movement which, however, continued unabated. The Viceroy paid a special visit to Peshawar and was greeted by a huge gathering demanding Pakistan. The movement came to a successful end on the announcement of the Partition Plan.

Another important development was the situation arising out of the budget of the Interim Government presented by the Finance Member, Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, in the preparation of which he was ably assisted by Chaudhri Mohammed Ali, a capable officer of the Finance Department, and Mumtaz Hasan who was Liaquat Ali Khan's Private Secretary.¹⁶ Indian Big Business had made enormous profits during the War at the cost of the common man. Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan proposed a business profits tax. But Mr. Nehru, in spite of his socialist professions, strongly opposed the proposal and the Congress leaders sensed in it a discriminatory policy, alleging that it was a move against

¹⁶ Later Finance Secretary, Government of Pakistan, and presently, Managing Director of the National Bank of Pakistan.

the Hindus. Their opposition exposed the inconsistency between their professions and practices. As Leonard Mosley observes: "Liaquat's budget had heavily soaked the millionaire backers of the Congress and showed up the hypocrisy of the Party's claim to be socialist".¹⁷ Ultimately the Congress leaders' espousal of the cause of Big Business brought down the percentage of the proposed tax from 25 to 17½. The Congress got alarmed and this was one of the factors which may be said to have induced in it some realistic thinking on the question of partition.

All these developments made it increasingly evident to the impartial observer that it would not be possible to retain the notion of a united India any longer. Even a die-hard like Sardar Vallabhai Patel, as we learnt later, had come to the conclusion that it was better to divide India than to have instability and internecine strife in a united country. The aim of Hindu domination over the whole sub-continent had to be abandoned.

But I must stop going into further detail lest the object with which I set out to write these pages gets out of focus. I must leave the writing of a detailed history of the Muslim struggle for independence after the tragedy of 1857 to men with specialised knowledge who have the advantage of records at their disposal to accomplish their difficult task.

¹⁷ Leonard Mosley: *The Last Days of the British Raj*

XV

PROJECTING MUSLIM CASE ABROAD

AT the end of September, 1946, Qaid-e-Azam told me that he had received, as President of the All-India Muslim League, an invitation from Mr. Ogden Reid, Proprietor of the *New York Herald Tribune*, to send a representative to the *New York Herald Tribune* Forum to participate in the debate on India and to present to the world the Muslim case for independence. He told me that he had decided to appoint me as his representative and would ask Begum Shah Nawaz to accompany me to the USA to counteract the Hindu propaganda that the Muslims were reactionaries and their women were neither politically awake nor exercised any rights and, therefore, if Pakistan were founded, it would be an intolerant and theocratic State. As I have written elsewhere, to me the slightest desire of the Qaid was a command. I accepted the assignment and, accompanied by Begum Shah Nawaz, whose association with me I welcomed, attended the *Herald Tribune* Forum.

The moving spirit and the dynamic force behind the Forum was Mrs. Helen Reid. I have rarely met a lady so able and yet so modest. From the hour Begum Shah Nawaz and I left Karachi and for two weeks thereafter, we were the guests of the *Herald Tribune*. We were looked after by the newspaper's representative and correspondent in London during our day's halt, were received at New York by Reid's youngest son, Ogden junior, now Ambassador Reid, and were taken to the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. We received nothing but kindness and hospitality from our hosts plus some valuable introductions.

I spoke to a large gathering in the Waldorf Astoria ballroom and the speeches which were delivered from the Forum platform were broadcast to the world.¹ I was conscious of the fact that being the first Muslim sent abroad to present the case of the Muslims of the sub-

¹ This speech was reproduced in full in the *Herald Tribune* and in the *Vital Speeches of the Day* magazine of December 1, 1946.

continent for a separate homeland, a heavy burden of responsibility had been placed on me. I acquitted myself to the best of my ability.

Thereafter, Begum Shah Nawaz and I addressed several meetings in the important cities of the United States. I must say that the Begum, an experienced parliamentarian, made quite an impression on the audience with her fluent speeches. It was at these meetings that we found out how ignorant and ill-informed the Americans were of the Muslim case and what they knew of our sub-continent was what they had learnt from the propaganda machinery of the Congress in the United States. The majority of them thought that there was only the Congress which had the right to call itself a political party and which reflected the will of the Indian people as a whole. They were also under the impression that the Congress Party alone was fighting for the independence of India. But when matters were explained and the Muslim point of view was placed before them, at least some of those present began to realise that they had been misled all these years by Congress propaganda. It began to dawn on them that the Muslims were a nation almost one hundred million strong and had a just claim to nationhood and a separate homeland.

In the course of our tour of the United States following the *Herald Tribune* Forum when addressing the Indian Muslims, both Begum Shah Nawaz and I were so confident of our cause and so sure of the destiny of our people that we told them that before long, and much before anyone calculated or imagined, we, the Muslims, would have our Pakistan. By the grace of Allah, our prediction proved true because, within ten months of our speaking, Pakistan came into being and, three weeks thereafter, I set foot in New York as Pakistan's first Ambassador. When my friends called on me or when I visited them in far-off places like Detroit, Chicago, Sacramento and the Imperial Valley, I was reminded of our "prophecy". My reply was: "With Allah's help and under the able guidance of Qaid-e-Azam, we have secured our homeland".

Our tour of the United States included Washington DC where Begum Shah Nawaz and I went for a day. The Secretary of State, Mr. Dean Acheson, was out of town. An appointment was, therefore, made for us by the *Herald Tribune* office in Washington with the Permanent Under Secretary, Mr. Loy Henderson. At the interview, which lasted almost an hour, he heard what we had to say and made notes. This, perhaps, was the first time that the United States Government at Washington was officially apprised of the case of the Muslims by the Qaid's authorised representative. As we were leaving,

Mrs. Reid became a good friend and helped me greatly during my 1946 tour and later in the early months of my ambassadorship in the USA, for which help I am beholden to her and shall always be.

Time, the popular weekly, adopted, for reasons unknown to any of us, a strong anti-Pakistan attitude immediately we attained our freedom. Hardly a week passed without a caustic and grossly unfair paragraph or two appearing in its issue. The Luces, owners of the paper, were friends of the Congress and particularly of Pandit Nehru. They did their best to lend a hand to India. I remember one of the articles which contained the following words in describing the financial position of our new State: "and the check bounced". The father of our Nation was subjected to unwarranted attacks. I was in despair. I approached the State Department for help. I received sympathy and understanding but was told that it could do nothing as the Press in the USA was free and any advice or request would be construed by it as interference. In desperation I went to see Mrs. Reid at her office in the *New York Herald Tribune* and told her how bitterly disappointed and pained I was with the treatment accorded to Pakistan by *Time*. She heard me with sympathy and promised to do what she could and she did. The Luces were her friends. Criticism weakened to vanishing point and, shortly thereafter, died.

Just as our tour was coming to an end at the end of December, 1946, we received intimation that the Qaid and Liaquat Ali Khan would be visiting London in a few days at the invitation of the British Government to discuss the fate of the Cabinet Mission's Plan and that if we had finished our work, we should return to London. On our return to London, Begum Shah Nawaz and I stayed at the Savoy Hotel while the Qaid-e-Azam and Liaquat Ali Khan, who had both arrived, were staying as guests of the British Government at Claridge's.

I reported briefly on what had happened at the *Herald Tribune* Forum and also in the course of our tour of the United States and how we had utilised the occasion to print tens of thousands propaganda leaflets explaining the Muslim League point of view and distribute them throughout the United States.

The next day or the day following, as the Qaid and I were dining together, a telegram arrived. He asked me to open it. It was from Mr. Ghulam Husain Hidayatullah, Karachi, informing him that the

Muslim League had swept the polls in the re-elections. I was uncontrollably happy at the news. I handed the telegram to the Qaid who, wearing his monocle, read it and smiled. The smile was of satisfaction and joy.

On another occasion, talking about his discussion with the British Cabinet, he told me emphatically and categorically that he had told the British Government that unless the Congress accepted the Mission Plan without any reservation whatsoever, it would not be possible for the Muslim League to revise its decision arrived at in Bombay. He told me that there appeared no possibility of Congress accepting the Plan unconditionally, and there was no going back by the Muslim League. There was only one alternative for us and that was to go forward.

During this visit to London, the Qaid considered it time that the All-India Muslim League set up an agency for publicising the Muslim case for Pakistan and to counteract the Congress propaganda against the Muslim demand. He decided that the Muslim League should set up an Information Centre in London. He left behind Altaf Husain, Editor, *Dawn*, who had accompanied him, to set up the Centre at a suitable place. He asked me to finance the project and to help Altaf Husain with my advice. In the war-ravaged London of that time, it was not easy to find accommodation for the proposed Centre, but eventually we selected an apartment in Grosvenor Gardens.

The Qaid had decided to send from Delhi Colonel Majeed Malik then working as Publicity Officer of the All-India Muslim League and also as part-time leader writer of *Dawn*, Delhi, to head the Centre. In the meanwhile, Z. A. Suleri, then Correspondent of *Dawn*, London, was placed in charge of the Centre.

Altaf Husain was asked to prepare some literature to be distributed by the Centre, and he produced, as far as I remember, three pamphlets called "India: the last 10 years", "Why Pakistan?", and "Fifty facts about Pakistan".

One night, well past midnight, Altaf telephoned me suggesting that the Centre should also publish a periodical bulletin called "Muslim India News Bulletin". I agreed. A few days later, on January 13, 1947, the Muslim India Information Centre was launched at a reception given by me at Claridge's at which the first issue of the printed bulletin was distributed.

Not many months afterwards, however, it became clear that

Pakistan would come into being much sooner than we had anticipated, and therefore, the Centre gradually ceased to function.

The Qaid's visit to London and his discussions with the British Cabinet were encouraging. Though no agreement could be reached with the Congress on the disputed clauses of the Cabinet Mission's Plan owing to the Congress leader's obduracy the statement issued by the British Government on December 6 was a complete vindication of the League's stand and exposed the intransigence of the Congress. The statement, after recalling that the main difficulty had been about paragraph 19 (V) and (VIII) of the Cabinet Mission's Plan of May 16, declared: "The Cabinet Mission have throughout maintained the view that the decisions of the sections should, in the absence of agreement to the contrary, be taken by a simple majority vote of the representatives in the sections. This view has been accepted by the Muslim League but the Congress have put forward a different view. The Congress have asserted that the true meaning of the statement read as a whole is that the provinces have a right to decide both as to grouping and as to their own constitutions. His Majesty's Government have had legal advice, which confirms that the statement of May 16 means what the Cabinet Mission have always stated was their intention. This part of the statement, as so interpreted, must therefore be considered as an essential part of the scheme of May 16 for enabling the Indian people to formulate a constitution which His Majesty's Government would be prepared to submit to Parliament. It should therefore be accepted by all parties in the Constituent Assembly".² The statement further urged the Congress to accept the view of the Cabinet Mission in order that the way might be opened for the Muslim League to reconsider its attitude. The statement ended with the following significant declaration of policy: "There has never been any prospect of success for the Constituent Assembly except on the basis of an agreed procedure. Should a constitution come to be framed by a Constituent Assembly in which a large section of the Indian population had not been represented, His Majesty's Government could not, of course, contemplate—as the Congress have stated they would not contemplate—forcing such a constitution upon any unwilling parts of the country".³

This authoritative statement of the British Government, indeed, represented the triumph of our leader's gift of statemanship and negotiating skill. That he should have extracted such a statement from a

² V. P. Menon: *The Transfer of Power in India*.

³ *Ibid.*

Government which had little sympathy for the Muslims and whose partiality for the Congress was undisguised, was more than we could expect. We were strengthened in our belief that Pakistan would become a reality within a matter of months. During his stay in London the Qaid addressed a Press Conference and a well-attended public meeting at Kingsway Hall at which he explained the case for Pakistan and also thoroughly exposed the perfidious conduct of the Congress and the betrayal of solemn pledges and promises by British Ministers. These pronouncements had a good effect on British public opinion.

After my return to Calcutta, I had barely had rest for a few days and had just got back to my office work when on the 4th of February, Ismail Chundrigar, my Working Committee colleague, who was Commerce Minister in the Interim Government of India, telephoned from Delhi and asked me to lead the Trade Delegation of India sponsored by Government to Middle Eastern countries. He told me that it was the Qaid's desire that I should undertake the mission. So, in writing to the Qaid on the 5th of February, 1947, I stated:

"Chundrigar telephoned me yesterday and asked me to lead the Trade Delegation to the Middle East. He told me that it was your desire that I should undertake this mission. Once more, I have obeyed your command and I hope there will be no restriction whatsoever on my carrying on political work in the time that I can claim as my own, i.e., between meetings and functions that will be arranged for our Trade Delegation. . . ."

The Delegation left Karachi on March 9, 1947.*

In the Middle Eastern countries which the Delegation visited the name of Jinnah, his organising ability, his quality of leadership and his hold over the Muslim masses were already well-known. Whenever the Muslim members of the Delegation were interviewed or introduced, the name of Jinnah automatically cropped up coupled with praise and admiration.

In Iraq we had the honour of being received in audience by Amir Abdul Ilah. We called on the Prime Minister, members of his Cabinet and met other important entities of Iraq. In Iran, I was granted a special interview by the Prime Minister, Qavam-us-Saltaneh, who was

*The Delegation consisted of myself as leader, Dawood Habib, C.C. Javeri of Bombay, Haridas Lalji of Karachi, Members, M. Ayub, I.C.S. Secretary, Mr. Ibrahim Zainal Ali Reza, Adviser, and, Maulana Jamal Mian Firangimahel as my Private Secretary. The last two rendered magnificent service in putting across the Muslim League point of view in all the countries the Delegation visited.

at the time holidaying on his tea estate in Lahijan, and also met Ministers and leaders of public opinion and members of the press. In Jordan, some members of the Delegation accompanied me when I went to pay my respects to King Abdullah. During our stay in Amman, we met the Ministers and prominent citizens of the kingdom. In Turkey, we called on the Prime Minister and the Speaker of the *Mejlis*, besides meeting some Ministers, several leaders of public opinion and prominent newspaper men. In Syria and Lebanon, the Presidents honoured us by granting audience. We also met their Prime Ministers, other Ministers and leaders.

Of course, at every available opportunity, we made it a point to contact the men who counted in these countries. We the Muslim members of the Trade Delegation discussed trade during certain hours of the day and spent the rest of our time in explaining to our brother Muslims the *raison d'être* for our demand for Pakistan. For the first time the Muslims of India were afforded the opportunity to contact the outside world at Government level and explain to them their problems, aims and aspirations at the expense of the Government of India. The Hindus had utilised scores of such opportunities in the past to do the same work of trying to convince the world that they were the legitimate children of mother India and wanted to rid themselves of British rule. They, in their propaganda, ignored the very existence of the large number of Muslims who also inhabited the country and for whom India was as much a home as it was for them.

From every capital that the Delegation visited, I reported briefly on my activities to the Qaid. I do not possess copies of these letters which were handwritten, except for one which I reproduce below:

28th May, 1947

My dear Mr. Jinnah:

The object of this letter is to bring to an end my report on our Middle Eastern tour.

Since writing to you from Cairo, I have met again the Grand Mufti, the President of the Akhwan-ul-Muslimeen, the Head of the Shabban-ul-Muslimeen, the Prime Minister Noqrashi Pasha, the Finance Minister, the Commerce Minister, the Agriculture Minister, the Minister of Communications, Nahas Pasha and the top men of the Wafdist Party, Ali Meher Pasha, Hassouna Pasha (Governor of Alexandria), Ali Yehya Pasha, Fargaly of public opinion. As usual, I did not miss the chance of calling on all Muslim Embassies in Cairo. In the Hedjaz, I had the privilege of meeting almost everyone who counted in the political, economic, social and cultural

life of the country from Ibn Saud and the Crown Prince to the smallest men who are interested in our affairs. The Finance Minister is the power behind the throne and I am glad to say that in Egypt and in Hedjaz I received the same welcome and sympathy from our brethren as I did in the other countries that we have visited.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,
HASSAN

From the above, it would appear that we followed the same procedure in every Muslim capital which we visited. We met similar personalities of Government and opposition and leaders of thought and explained our demand for Pakistan. And, everywhere, the response was sympathetic and encouraging.

When the tour ended, I decided to take a fortnight's rest in Egypt and Iran before returning home. I, however, received intimation from India that fresh developments were about to take place and that I should return home. I, therefore, returned post-haste in the last week of May.

A couple of weeks before the departure of our Delegation from Karachi, Mr. Attlee, Prime Minister of Britain, had made a statement in Parliament on the 20th of February to the effect that the British Government had definitely decided to part with power and had fixed June 30, 1948, as the final date for British withdrawal from India.

He went on to declare that His Majesty's Government wished to hand over its responsibility to authorities established by a constitution approved by all parties in India in accordance with the Cabinet Mission's Plan but there was no clear prospect that such a constitution and such authorities would emerge. If, then, it should appear that an agreed constitution would not have been worked out by June 1948 it would have to consider to whom it should transfer the powers of the Central Government, whether as a whole to some form of Central Government for British India, or in some areas to the existing Provincial Governments or in such other way as might seem most reasonable and in the best interests of the Indian people. This statement clearly foreshadowed the prospect of establishment of Pakistan. We were happy to note that the policy pursued by the Qaid had succeeded in bringing Pakistan nearer, step by step. Events were inexorably moving towards this end and, paradoxically, the Congress leaders, by their intransigence, were themselves helping to bring about a result

opposite to that which they desired, that is, their own policy and actions were going to result in the break-up of that unity by which they swore.

Some days later, Lord Wavell was recalled and the dashing and energetic young man, Lord Louis Mountbatten, wartime head of South East Asia Command, arrived on March 22, 1947, and was sworn in two days later as Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It was the general impression at the time that Lord Wavell had been accorded this shabby treatment because he had tried to rectify to some extent the wrong done to the Muslim League under His Majesty's Government's orders in the formation of the Interim Government. As was Lord Mountbatten's habit, he started work in India with a fanfare and grandiose publicity. He got down to his duties full of drive and wanted to discharge the responsibility entrusted to him in the shortest time. He wanted a place in the history of the sub-continent. By the time he retired as the first and last foreign Governor-General of independent India, he certainly gained the glory he sought in the history books of Hindu India but our pages of history will always remember him painfully for his part in the infliction of untold sufferings on Muslims and in jeopardising Pakistan's vital interests. Can we ever forget the Radcliffe Award, which was changed at the last moment, and the Kashmir problem, the seeds of which he sowed? How can we?

RADCLIFFE'S BETRAYAL AND SIKHS

WHEN it became apparent to us "insiders" that the Partition of India was to take place on the principle of Muslim and non-Muslim majorities in areas which were contiguous and from which principle the British Government, the *de facto* and *de jure* rulers of India, were unwilling to deviate, the Muslim leadership was faced with an acute predicament. The division of India on the above basis obviously meant the cutting up of our majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab, the two largest and richest of the provinces of India in which the Muslims constituted an overall majority. I know how disappointed the Calcutta Muslims were at the prospect of losing Calcutta, a great and prosperous city boasting of excellent port facilities and studded with big and thriving industries, heavy and light. Calcutta at the time had a Muslim population of 24 per cent. The majority was overwhelmingly non-Muslim. The loss of Calcutta was a terrible blow but it was unavoidable. Similarly, hunks of the flesh of Bengal and Punjab were to be cut off on the same basis if we were to get our freedom and establish a homeland for our people. Qaid-e-Azam endeavoured his utmost to retain the provinces in their existing form. All the pressure which he could exercise and all the arguments he could muster were of no avail. But our great leader and his Working Committee, of which I was a member, were convinced that in partitioning the land strict honesty would be observed and not one inch of land in which the Muslims were in a majority and which was contiguous to a Muslim-majority area, would be given to India.

Qaid-e-Azam and his Party did all in their power and devised ways and means with their collective ingenuity and experience to wrest all that they could for their future homeland—but these efforts were not entirely successful. The mind of the British was made up. If it had to be Partition, it had to be on the basis of their plan as presented by their Viceroy and Governor-General, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, which was known as the Plan of June 3, 1947.

RADCLIFFE'S BETRAYAL AND SIKHS

WHEN it became apparent to us "insiders" that the Partition of India was to take place on the principle of Muslim and non-Muslim majorities in areas which were contiguous and from which principle the British Government, the *de facto* and *de jure* rulers of India, were unwilling to deviate, the Muslim leadership was faced with an acute predicament. The division of India on the above basis obviously meant the cutting up of our majority provinces of Bengal and Punjab, the two largest and richest of the provinces of India in which the Muslims constituted an overall majority. I know how disappointed the Calcutta Muslims were at the prospect of losing Calcutta, a great and prosperous city boasting of excellent port facilities and studded with big and thriving industries, heavy and light. Calcutta at the time had a Muslim population of 24 per cent. The majority was overwhelmingly non-Muslim. The loss of Calcutta was a terrible blow but it was unavoidable. Similarly, hunks of the flesh of Bengal and Punjab were to be cut off on the same basis if we were to get our freedom and establish a homeland for our people. Qaid-e-Azam endeavoured his utmost to retain the provinces in their existing form. All the pressure which he could exercise and all the arguments he could muster were of no avail. But our great leader and his Working Committee, of which I was a member, were convinced that in partitioning the land strict honesty would be observed and not one inch of land in which the Muslims were in a majority and which was contiguous to a Muslim-majority area, would be given to India.

Qaid-e-Azam and his Party did all in their power and devised ways and means with their collective ingenuity and experience to wrest all that they could for their future homeland—but these efforts were not entirely successful. The mind of the British was made up. If it had to be Partition, it had to be on the basis of their plan as presented by their Viceroy and Governor-General, Earl Mountbatten of Burma, which was known as the Plan of June 3, 1947.

In accordance with this Plan, two Boundary Commissions were to be set up, one to deal with the partition of the Punjab and the other with the partition of Bengal and also the separation of Sylhet from Assam. Each Commission would comprise a Chairman and four members, two nominated by the Congress and two by the Muslim League.

Both major political parties consented to the appointment of Sir Cyril Radcliffe as Chairman of both Commissions. The Punjab Commission consisted of Justice Mahajan, Teja Singh, Din Mohamed and Munir. The other Commission was manned by Justices Akram, S.A. Rahman, C. C. Biswas and B. K. Mukerjee. These Commissions, according to provisions of the Plan, were instructed to demarcate the boundaries of the Punjab and Bengal on the basis of ascertaining the contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims and also to take into account other factors. It was clear from the wording of the instructions that the prime consideration before the Commission was to be 'contiguous majority areas of Muslims and non-Muslims' and 'other factors' were only to be a subsidiary consideration. Neither as regards Bengal nor the Punjab were the members of the Commissions able to reach agreement. It was, therefore, finally agreed by the members of the Commissions that the Chairman, Sir Cyril Radcliffe, should give his award.

Radcliffe, a Judge of the British High Court, reported to be an honourable and able man, free from bias, a Britisher who had no concern with the inner workings of the Government of India and the existing political parties of India, was naturally taken at his face value. It did not take the Qaid long to discover the true Radcliffe who allowed himself to be influenced by Mountbatten in gifting away certain contiguous areas of Muslim majority in the Punjab—parts of Gurdaspur and Ferozpur—to India which gave her a passage to Kashmir that she otherwise could not claim, and thus sowed the seeds of trouble between Pakistan and India since Partition.

How could an honest and upright man like the Qaid suspect that the words 'other factors' carried, when twisted, a sinister meaning? How could he have ever imagined that the words would be utilised by an 'honourable barrister' and judge for handing over contiguous Muslim-majority areas of Ferozpur and Gurdaspur districts to Hindu India to ensure for it a roadway to Kashmir? It was considered unthinkable for an honest Englishman to do such a dishonourable piece of work. Yet he did it. When the Award's publication was delayed beyond the scheduled date, we began to worry. We were told that

something shady was being brewed in Radcliffe's stills. Rumour had it that the Award which was ready was in the process of being changed under Mountbatten's directive. And when the Award was finally published, what we had heard turned out to be correct.

If further proof is necessary to establish that Radcliffe was unworthy of a seat on the Bench of His Majesty's High Court of Judicature and that he did not decide the case entrusted to him on merit, justice, equity, intellectual honesty or in accordance with the broad principles which were clearly laid down in the terms of reference I shall reproduce the opinions of two of our own distinguished judges of the High Court who were appointed by the Qaid-e-Azam to the Punjab and Bengal Boundary Commissions, namely Mr. Justice Mohammed Munir and Mr. Justice S. A. Rahman, respectively. I am grateful to them for their kind permission to do so.

I give below relevant portions from Mr. Justice Munir's version and views in regard to the notorious Radcliffe Award:

"During the discussions, the Chairman also hinted that the report which would be submitted to the Governor-General would be his own report and that no report by a Member would be sent up. This was contrary to the terms of our appointment and we were to realise its significance only when three days later an amendment to the Indian Independence Bill was introduced in the House of Commons making the report of the Chairman the report of the Commission.... Having been deprived of the right to judge and vote, the members had been reduced to the position of advocates of the parties. Our reports were not to be a part of the proceedings and were mere wastepaper to be thrown away by the Chairman, if he so liked....

"Gurdaspur District came up first. It was Muslim majority area and, therefore, if a district was to be taken as a unit, the whole of it had to go to Pakistan. But if what Mountbatten had stated about this District in his Press Conference of June 4 was right and the District had to be partitioned, the Pathankot Tehsil could, as suggested by the Muslim League, be separated from it and joined with the contiguous non-Muslim area. Shakargarh was not only a Muslim majority area but also a physical entity, with the Ravi as its eastern boundary and could not conceivably be split up....

"The function of the Commission was to separate the contiguous Muslim and non-Muslim majority areas and not to divide property or trade or business assets or to separate the intellectually developed from backward areas. In fact in the figures relied on by the non-Muslims, there lay the strongest argument for the partition of the country. Almost for a century the Muslims had been exploited by the non-Muslims. The wealth of the non-Muslims in Lahore represented the sweat and labour of the Muslims and it was with a view to doing away with this inequitable position that the

Musalman had demanded a State where undominated by the Hindu he could improve his lot and enjoy a position of economic independence....

"After discussing some Tehsils of Amritsar, Jullundur, Hoshiarpur, Ludhiana and Ambala Districts, I was about to place the case of Ferozepur and Zira and portions of the Fazilka and Mukhtasar Tehsils of the Ferozepur District when I received a pleasant surprise. Here at least Sir Cyril was agreeing with me. He distinctly told me that these areas, which included the Ferozepur Headworks would go to Pakistan and that I need not say anything more about them. As if I did not know this, he gave me a full description of these areas, mentioning the 'Cliffs' on one side of the low-lying land and the canals that take off from the Ferozepur Headworks. On this part of the case, at least, I thought, we had succeeded and communicated my impression to Mamdot* who owned a vast estate in this tract. The Muslim League had claimed the District of Amritsar and in my report I had supported that claim. In the course of my interview with the Chairman, however, I had mooted, with the Muslim League's consent, the proposal of making the city of Amritsar, the Mecca of the Sikhs, a Sikh enclave by connecting it with some trans-Beas areas. Here Mr. Beaumont wanted to rebut the suggestion by asserting that there was no bridge on the river to connect the enclave and the areas beyond the river. On this I lost my temper, told Beaumont not to interfere and informed the Chairman that a metalled road with a bridge on the river though passing through Kapurthala State connected the two. But I was seized with a disturbing thought—if Beaumont could misrepresent in my presence could he not do so when there was no one with Sir Cyril?....

"The Award was announced over the radio on August 17. With the exception of a part of Shakargarh Tehsil, the whole of the Gurdaspur District went to India. So did the whole of the Amritsar District and all the trans-Beas and trans-Sutlej Muslim majority areas, including Ferozepur, Zira, Mukhtasar and Fazilka tehsils. The Canal Colonies remained with us and Lahore was saved....

"When I read the text of the Award I was stunned. A two-page document and a line on a map drawn as the fancy of the drawer dictated had divided the fourth largest country in the world. No reasons, except one to which I shall presently refer, were given and no reference was made to the arguments and contentions raised. Here was an instance of a British lawyer trained in traditions of British justice, the very principle of which is that a party should know why a matter has been decided against him! If the Award was judicial, it lacked every attribute of a judicial decision. And if it was political, why lay claims to justice, fairness and impartiality? Why not say that India belonged to the British and their Viceroy gave it to whomsoever he liked?....

"There is conclusive evidence that the Punjab Award had been finalised on the 8th of August.... It is, however, agreed that that very evening the contents of the Punjab Award, in so far as they were necessary for Sir Evan

*The Nawab of Mamdot, a big Zamindar and member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee.

Jenkins' information, were communicated to him over the telephone and that the information so supplied was reduced to writing.

"According to that information, the Tehsil of Ferozepur and Zira had come to Pakistan. And this is precisely what Sir Cyril mentioned to me when I interviewed him. How is it then that these Tehsils went to India in the Award announced on the 17th of August? The only explanation possible is that Sir Cyril altered the Award some time between the 8th and 17th of August, when he was in New Delhi. It is also clear that he of his own accord would not make the alteration as he must have known that the original Award had been communicated to Sir Evan Jenkins and no fresh arguments had been addressed to him after the 8th to persuade him to alter his decision. The irresistible inference, therefore, is that he must have been prevailed upon by Lord Mountbatten to make the desired alteration.

"Further there is intrinsic evidence to show that this part of the Award was not the result of an honest endeavour to arrive at a just decision....

"Did he not play politics when he stated in this part of the Award that 'it would be in the interest of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej', when these strips were described by him in the same paragraph of the Award as the area in which 'not inconsiderable' Muslim majorities are found. And had he not been told earlier that the joint control of canals which he advocated in this paragraph was out of the question and not a matter within his scope? And lastly, could not a joint control be suggested for the other two canals that take off from the Ferozepur Headworks by giving at the same time effect to the contiguous majority principle in favour of the Muslims?

"Take now the Gurdaspur District. Was it not a Muslim majority area? True, the majority of the Muslims here was nominal but could not this majority have automatically risen appreciably if Pathankot Tehsil had been separated and joined to India? And then what were the compelling factors to partition Shakargarh, a Muslim majority Tehsil? Further, if Shakargarh had to be partitioned why not adopt as basis the major physical feature, the Ravi, but choose as the boundary line neither the river nor its main tributary (Ujh river) but the western branch of this stream where it 'enters the Punjab Province from the State of Kashmir?' Was Gurdaspur intended to be sacrificed suitably to a desire to connect India with Kashmir?"*

Expressing his views on the demarcation of the boundary between West and East Bengal and Assam as then constituted, Mr. Justice Rahman writes:

"With regard to East Bengal proper, in our discussions with him (Radcliffe) we got the impression that he was inclined to fix the boundary further east of the River Mathabanga. He was obsessed with the idea that he should provide a hinterland to Calcutta for West Bengal. The discussions with regard

*Mr. Justice Mohamed Munir's article "Days to Remember" published in the *Pakistan Times* in its issues of June 22, 23, and 24, 1964.

to East and West Bengal were finished at Calcutta. For the discussions regarding Sylhet and Cachar, we journeyed to Delhi where we met him for the final discussions. While starting from Calcutta, I had written a letter to him urging the necessity for fixing the East Bengal boundary at least along the Mathabanga River. I am glad to say that he eventually saw my point and fixed the boundary along that River.

"I had argued with him that since he was giving the whole of Baraset sub-division to West Bengal for the benefit of Calcutta, he should, on similar considerations, give us Jalpaiguri and catchment area of the Teesta River in the interest of the integrity of the river system of East Bengal. He did not agree to this suggestion.

"With regard to Sylhet and Cachar, the position was, as I had argued with him at Delhi, that Karimganj and Badarpur areas of Sylhet were Muslim-majority areas and there were three Hindu-majority Thanas to the south of them, adjoining the East Bengal border. These Thanas were, however, completely surrounded by Muslim-majority areas and I contended that they would come to us by geographical compulsion. I clarified the situation by reference to maps which he had got prepared. Sir Cyril at that time made the remark: 'I don't see any escape from this conclusion'. He was, therefore, evidently of the opinion that my contention was acceptable.

"With regard to Cachar, I had contended that the Hailakandi sub-division which adjoined the Sylhet district on the East, was a Muslim-majority area and should, therefore, be assigned to us. At that time he did not appear to be disinclined to accept this argument.

"When the Award was announced, however, I was surprised to find that he had awarded the Muslim-majority areas of Karimganj and Badarpur to Bharat and only allowed the three non-Muslim-majority Thanas to us in Sylhet, with a small surrounding area. He thus deprived us of a big chunk of the Muslim-majority area and, further, he did not give us an inch of land out of Cachar. To say the least, this was a most surprising and unfair decision. What happened behind the scenes, I am unable to say, but you can draw your own conclusions."*

I have reproduced Mr. Justices Munir and Rahman's views on Radcliffe at length in this chapter as I do not want interested countries to retain the impression that Radcliffe made his Award honestly and strictly in accordance with the elementary laws of justice, equity or common decency. Let not a Britisher today, or in years to come, say, or believe sincerely, that British justice is always clean and unsullied. Let him not think that Radcliffe played an honest part in the partition of the sub-continent, that he treated Muslims and Hindus on a footing of equality, that he gave to the Hindus what was truly theirs and to the Muslims what belonged to them. To blame Lord Mountbatten entirely

*His letter to me dated September 27, 19.

would be to shift a part of the blame from Radcliffe's shoulders on to his. It is no excuse for a judge of the British High Court that he was influenced by the Viceroy to do what he did. A judge, by the very meaning of the word, means a person who remains a judge in all circumstances, above fear, influence or pressure. This is a view with which, I am sure, no Britisher today will be able to differ and he will disclaim the role that Radcliffe played in making an unfair division of the two major Muslim Provinces of India.

An idea of the strong reaction of the Muslim intelligentsia to the unjust Radcliffe Award can be formed from the statement issued by me at the time of publication of the Award. I quote here an excerpt from the statement as it appeared in the *Statesman* of August 19, 1947:

"The Award is abominable. It violates the fundamental principles of contiguous majority areas. It is devoid of justice and Muslims have again been the sufferers".

My reaction at the time was, without an element of doubt, the reaction of every politically-minded Muslim except, of course, the mere handful of Congress stooges and 'quislings'. The Britisher, known for his ability and integrity, had betrayed the Muslim nation. He had weighed the scales heavily on the Indian side.

So perverse was the Award that even Radcliffe himself seems to be conscious of the injustice he was committing, as is evident from the following passage in his report: "I am conscious that there are legitimate criticisms to be made of it (boundary line), as of any other line that might be chosen. I have hesitated long over those not inconsiderable areas east of the Sutlej river and in the angle of the Beas and Sutlej rivers in which Muslim majorities are found. But on the whole, I have come to the conclusion that it would be in the true interests of neither State to extend the territories of the West Punjab to a strip on the far side of the Sutlej and that there are factors such as the disruption of railway communications and water systems that ought, in this instance, to displace the primary claims of contiguous majorities".

Radcliffe's unfairness and partiality for Hindu India is also apparent from the ruling he gave on the different interpretations put on the Commission's terms of reference in regard to Sylhet, namely, "In the event of the Referendum in the District of Sylhet resulting in favour of amalgamation with Eastern Bengal, the Boundary Commission will also demarcate the Muslim majority areas of Sylhet District and the

contiguous Muslim majority areas of the adjoining Districts of Assam'. The Muslim members of the Commission took the view that the Commission had been given authority to detach from Assam and to attach to East Bengal any Muslim majority areas of any part of Assam that could be described as contiguous to East Bengal, since they construed the words "the adjoining Districts of Assam" as meaning any Districts of Assam that adjoined East Bengal. The Hindu members held that the Commission's power of detaching areas from Assam and transferring them to East Bengal was limited to the District of Sylhet and contiguous Muslim majority areas (if any) of other Districts of Assam that adjoined Sylhet. Radcliffe upheld the Hindu members' view which severely restricted the scope of reference to the Commission resulting in loss to East Bengal of the contiguous areas of Muslim majority in Assam.

Lord Mountbatten's dubious conduct in regard to the announcement of the Boundary Award given by Sir Cyril Radcliffe was inspired by his animus against the Muslims and Pakistan. It was, to say the least, unworthy of a scion of the British aristocracy. Both Campbell-Johnson, Mountbatten's Press Attache, and Leonard Mosley have testified that Radcliffe signed the Boundary Award on August 8 and submitted it the next day to Lord Mountbatten who, however, did not announce it till after Independence Day. It has now come to light that the Governor of the Punjab, Sir Evan Jenkins, left behind a sketch-map drawn by him on the basis of confidential information communicated to him over the secraphone by Sir George Abell, the Viceroy's Principal Private Secretary, before Independence Day. The map showed the towns of Firozpur and Zira on the Pakistan side of the boundary. This is corroborated also by Mr. Mohammed Munir, a member of the Commission. When the Award was subsequently published on August 17, both towns had been awarded to India. The two towns had Muslim majorities and were contiguous to other Muslim-majority areas. The Award was changed in the intervening period. There are strong grounds for suspecting that Mountbatten persuaded or directed Radcliffe to make alterations in keeping with Indian leaders' wishes. These charges have not been categorically met. Mountbatten's action in withholding the announcement of the Boundary Award till after Independence Day further led to disastrous consequences. If the Award had been made ahead of Independence Day, as it should have been, it would have made it possible for proper administrative measures to be taken and for the Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs of the border areas to move to zones of safety with some assurance of security.

In the compelling circumstances created by Mountbatten and Radcliffe, Qaid-e-Azam said: "It is better to have and enjoy a piece of the loaf than not to have it at all". He thought that, mauled and cut-up as we were, it was better for us to enjoy freedom in the areas allocated to us than suffer under the yoke of slavery in a united India ruled by the Hindus. And the Qaid was right, a hundred times right, as subsequent developments have, time and again, proven. Anyone who thinks and believes that he agreed to Partition in the manner it was carried out or that he gave up Calcutta without a hard and persistent try, is sadly mistaken or misguided. The British were so disposed and poised that they wanted an excuse to hand over a united India to the Hindu majority and quit. The Labour Government in Britain, for certain, was opposed to Partition because of its bias for the Hindus and also because it considered Partition to be detrimental to British interests. Until the last, Mr. Attlee's Government resisted Partition as Mr. Attlee himself testified in his reply to a question put to him by his former Press Secretary, Francis Williams, in a TV interview on January 3, 1959, as follows: "We would have preferred a united India. We could not get it, though we tried hard".¹

When Partition became inevitable and imminent, the President and members of the Working Committee of the Muslim League were confronted with a situation created by one of our leaders in Bengal, H. S. Suhrawardy, who was at the time the Chief Minister of Bengal. He sponsored the idea of a united and independent Bengal which ran counter to the Muslim League's notion of Pakistan. To our thinking, it was a clever trap laid by the wily Congress and the Hindu Mahasabha to inveigle Suhrawardy into it by promising the Muslims of Bengal the moon coupled with milk and honey with most of the plums of office thrown in for good measure. Suhrawardy was called upon by the Qaid to desist from sponsoring such a romantic scheme as it would be a suicidal move and harm the Muslim cause. Thereupon he dropped the grandiose plan. To us it was obvious that if such a plan were accepted, the Muslims of Bengal who constituted a small majority would, after a short period of honeymooning, be crushed and swallowed by the 46 per cent Hindus who, for historical reasons, were educationally and economically advanced. With India's backing, they would grind down the Muslims first gently through temptation and bribery, then mercilessly, creating nothing for the Muslims but agony, economic annihilation and quasi-slavery.

¹ Times of India, April 10, 1960.

Mr. Suhrawardy was undoubtedly a good organiser and he made a significant contribution to the building of the Muslim League movement in Bengal. But since he has in his memoirs, which I understand are in course of publication, dealt with his project of a united and sovereign Bengal, I am compelled to refer to it again to keep the record straight. The most significant point which emerges from his writing on the subject is that, as Mr. Suhrawardy would have us believe, it was with Qaid-e-Azam's knowledge and permission that he conducted negotiations with Mr. Sarat Chandra Bose of Bengal. To my knowledge, this contention is not supported by anything on record anywhere. Again, during the lifetime of most of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee members, especially during the lifetime of Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan and Khwaja Nazimuddin, Mr. Suhrawardy, when criticised by the former, did not for once defend himself by declaring in public that his negotiations with Sarat Chandra Bose and his friends had the blessings of the Qaid-e-Azam.

Mr. Suhrawardy is unkind and unfair to the Qaid when he records that "he accepted the verdict of Radcliffe in advance and nothing could be done about it". This is a strange way of putting the position. What he means by the words "in advance" is far from clear. The appointment of Sir Cyril Radcliffe as Chairman of the Boundary Commissions was agreed to by both the Congress and the League and it was part of the Partition Plan that the Commissions would demarcate the boundaries. The two parties, the Congress and the Muslim League, who had approved the Plan undertook to accept the findings of the Commissions. Were it not so, the whole idea of the appointment of the Commissions would be reduced to absurdity. In the case of sharp difference of opinion between the Hindu and Muslim members, it was naturally for the Chairman to give his verdict which had to be accepted by both the parties. What alternative had an honourable gentleman like the Qaid but to honour his undertaking to accept the Award? I have always said, and will continue to impress, that the Qaid was, above all else, an honourable gentleman and a clean politician. And he had no respect for unclean men, politicians or otherwise.

The partition of the Punjab was also necessitated by the suicidal attitude of the Sikh leadership. Their role during the First Simla Conference which met under Lord Wavell on June 25, 1945, and the talks which preceded the Mountbatten Declaration of June 3, 1947, are now a part of history. How they opposed the creation of Pakistan and how their leaders acted as stooges of the Congress is known to everybody. The game they were persuaded to play was to make the creation of Pakistan impossible or to put forth their absurd demand

for a Sikh State if Pakistan was to be conceded to the Muslim nation on the principle of contiguous areas of Muslim majority. The Sikhs did not constitute a majority contiguous area. It must be said, however, that they were not alone in the game they were being made to play. There were some other stooges of the British and Hindus; a couple of Muslims and some members of Scheduled Caste were also doing their level best to prevent the birth of Pakistan.

It was during this critical period that the Qaid-e-Azam endeavoured his best to persuade the Sikhs to see reason, not to press for a tiny State but to join hands with the Muslims and share their good or bad fortune. He guaranteed them all the freedom that they wanted and assured them a life free from fear of overlordship, a life of peace and prosperity. But they refused to see reason and accept the hand of friendship which was being offered to them on behalf of the Muslims. With the approach of Independence, Liaqat Ali Khan had several talks with his Cabinet colleague, Baldev Singh. Mr. Jinnah met Sikh leaders and assured them that if they joined us, they would receive a very fair deal. In the later stages, i.e., on the eve of Independence, he was even prepared to concede to the Sikhs a small homeland of their own within the borders of West Pakistan wherein they could be autonomous in the day-to-day life and administration of the State.

No less a person than the Maharajah of Patiala has testified in his reminiscences published in 1959 that the Qaid-e-Azam had made an offer of a Sikh State about the time of Partition. Giving an account of his meeting with the Qaid-e-Azam at a dinner given by Lord Mountbatten, the Maharajah says: "Talks started and offers were made by Mr. Jinnah for practically everything under the sun, if I would agree to his plan. There were two aspects—one was based on the idea of Rajasthan and the other one for a Sikh State—Punjab minus one or two districts in the south. I told Mr. Jinnah that I could not accept either of his two proposals. Two days later, I was asked by Mr. Jinnah to have tea with him. I accepted and went and had tea at his residence in New Delhi. After about half an hour Mr. Liaqat Ali Khan came and discussions began very much on the same lines as those we had two nights before. We again parted unchanged in our views".² No unbiased observer, therefore, would agree with the criticism that the Muslim League did nothing to reassure and conciliate the Sikhs.

Master Tara Singh and other Sikh leaders, elated with the support of the Hindu and Sikh followers of the Congress, would not listen to

² Quoted in Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad's *Final Phase of Struggle for Pakistan*.

reason and refused to see what appeared to be obvious to every fair-minded person. They would have no truck with the Muslim League nor did they want a share in Pakistan. They even went to the extent of openly declaring that they were basically Hindus. I quote from a report which appeared in the *Hindustan Times* of New Delhi on March 5, 1947: "Sikhs are much better organised and much better armed than the Muslims. For some time now they have been preparing for it. Higher British officials of the Punjab Government told me that if they have to face a similar movement from the Sikhs, they would have four times more trouble. If any such movement began, it would develop quickly into communal rioting...." And, before long, the movement started by the Sikhs did develop into 'communal rioting'. On the eve of Partition, they worked hand in glove with the Hindu Congress to yield as little as possible both in territory and in assets to Pakistan.

Qaid-e-Azam told me: "The Sikhs are not in their senses. By their unwise attitude they are applying the axe to their own shins. Wait and see what happens after Hindu India and Muslim India become two independent nations. The Hindus, once they are comfortably settled down, will turn on the Sikhs and it will only be a matter of time before they cease to be an important, separate and influential community. The Sikhs will then rue the day but it will be too late."

The Qaid died on September 11, 1948. How prophetic were his words! In the early years of Independence, the Congress-Sikh honeymoon was just too lovely to describe. But sometime thereafter, sprang misunderstanding and suspicion on the part of the Master Sahib and his followers. The Sikh, not too famed in the sub-continent for foresight, began to open his eyes wide and use his brains to appreciate what he had let himself in for; how he had, with his own hands, axed his two legs. But it was too late. The Sikh dream of freedom and equality of opportunity with the Indian Hindu did not come to pass. They are now vociferous in their demand for a separate province to safeguard their "culture" and economic interest, with Punjabi being recognised as the provincial language. Leaders who led their people on the wrong path at a critical juncture in their history are, today, loudest in their protest against discrimination.

MOUNTBATTEN, NEHRU'S MASTER OR.....?

AFTER the acceptance of the Mountbatten Plan of June 3, 1947, by the Muslim League and the Congress, the work of division of assets and liabilities between Pakistan and India was undertaken and a Partition Council was set up. The injustice and the deliberate attempt at strangulating Pakistan, which the Hindus aimed at, received tacit support from Lord Mountbatten. We got much less than our legitimate share. In every division of assets, India got more than the share to which she was entitled. There is a belief in certain circles that Mountbatten's attitude was the result of Qaid-e-Azam's refusal to appoint him as the Joint Governor-General of Pakistan with India.

It is often heard that Qaid-e-Azam agreed to appoint Lord Mountbatten as the first Governor-General of Pakistan and fall in line with the Indian decision to do so. I can categorically state that at no time was such a proposal discussed in the Working Committee nor was it discussed in conversations with the Qaid's confidants. Knowing the Qaid as we did, it is difficult to believe that he could have considered such a proposal. The reasons are as follows:

(1) We wanted to be separated from India; we wanted to be a separate sovereign State. In view of this glaring fact, how could we have accepted a common Governor-General, something unprecedented in history? What need was there for the Qaid to give an impression to the world that the Partition of India was just a temporary phase in the history of Muslim India and that ere long India and Pakistan would be again united and that Lord Mountbatten was there to stay during the "cooling off" period and to undo the Partition to which he was, according to his own confession, opposed from the very beginning?

(2) Why, of all persons, should Mountbatten have been chosen? He showed, all along, lack of sympathy for us and his mind was heavily biased in favour of Pandit Nehru who was a close friend of his and his wife and from whom Lord Mountbatten accepted guidance behind

closed doors. Would we have been so foolish as to accept Mountbatten as Joint Governor-General with his background of prejudice against us?

(3) Was it possible to imagine that the Qaid would have accepted service under him as the Governor-General's first Prime Minister? If this were his desire and ambition, would he have refused to join the Interim Government of India as a Minister? Would he have declined the offer of Prime Ministership of India on condition that he piped down the demands of Muslim India? No, he would not. If he were an ambitious man in the narrow sense, would he not have sought office and traded his principles in return? He was not the average man in this respect. His aims were higher and his sentiments nobler.

(4) Under a common Governor-General like Lord Mountbatten it was inevitable, keeping in view the relations between the Congress and the Muslim League, that he would have been confronted on almost every issue with conflicting advice by the two Cabinets, the Indian Cabinet urging him to act one way and the Pakistan Cabinet another—an anomalous position which would have frequently led to crisis. It is obvious which Cabinet's advice Lord Mountbatten would have preferred. Moreover, as Joint Governor-General he would have spent less time in Karachi than in Delhi. In the latter place he would have been near Mr. Nehru with whom he had close affinities. Mr. Nehru detested the very idea of Pakistan. One can easily imagine that in these circumstances Pakistan's interests would have been seriously prejudiced, in fact her very existence as a separate entity would have been jeopardised. Even a British writer, Ian Stephens, expresses the following view: "As early as June some Leaguers had come to suspect that Lord Mountbatten in his dual role would sub-consciously or otherwise, load the dice against Pakistan because of the friendship he had formed with leading Hindus".¹ Thus, he could not be expected to look after the interests of a country whose very creation was abhorrent to him. A Britisher as Joint Governor-General would have projected the image of one India and of Pakistan as a British dependency which would have worked to its serious detriment.

The events which followed in the wake of the creation of Pakistan completely vindicated the choice of the Qaid-e-Azam as Governor-General. Never was a state brought into being under more unpropitious circumstances and never did a people face greater danger and adversity. They would have broken down under the well-planned blows aimed

¹ Ian Stephens: *Pakistan*

at them from across the border. But there was the Qaid-e-Azam to inspire them with his invincible faith, courage and determination. His stirring call and heroic example rallied the people and revived their faith and confidence leading to concerted and dedicated efforts which saved Pakistan from collapse and paved the way for its consolidation.

In view of the reasons given, I trust this idle and nonsensical talk about the first Governor-Generalship being offered to Mountbatten will be buried.

Another point which demands attention for clearance concerns Muslim League's acceptance of the date of transfer of power on 14th and 15th August, 1947. This near date was, in fact, forced upon us. It was Hobson's choice. The Qaid and our representatives, Liaqat Ali Khan and Abdur Rab Nishtar at their respective levels, endeavoured their utmost to have the date of transfer delayed. We pleaded that the time between June 3 and August 15 was too short for such a transfer as it involved many problems, some of them of gigantic proportions, which had to be solved before the transfer could be properly effected. A fair and equitable distribution of assets had to be made. The defence forces with their armour etc., had to be correctly divided and given time to be posted in their respective countries. Besides these, a host of other important matters had to be settled to the satisfaction of both successor States. But we were presented by Lord Mountbatten and his officers with just one answer and that was: "Sorry, one of the essential points of the Plan is the transfer of power on August 15. On this, there can be no change of mind".

What was the underlying reason for this stubbornness is not officially known but one can hazard a shrewd guess. Lord Mountbatten was in league with India's Pandit Nehru. They had planned a campaign with which they expected to win major victories on the Partition front by giving Pakistan no time to organise herself and her Government which, at best, had to be assembled in bits and pieces from the Muslim civil and military servants spread all over the sub-continent.²

The Hindu plan appeared to be in line with G.D. Birla's writing on the viability of Pakistan which was given the widest publicity and was published some months before June 3, 1947.

² Among the actions of Mountbatten which convinced us that he could not be Pakistan's friend, was his refusal to divide the assets of the nineteen Ordnance factories all situated on the other side of our border, and of the Bengal Government's well-equipped press.

264
QAID-E-AZAM
The thinking on the question of Pakistan's viability was no different in British Government circles. The aim of the Indian Congress was to create as much disorder immediately after Independence as possible as it would help in bringing to an early end the freshly born Muslim state of Pakistan. The Indian Government held back the assets of Pakistan in the Reserve Bank of India amounting to over fiftyfive crores and almost throttled our newly launched State. The inequity of this move was so glaring that Mr. Gandhi had to threaten a fast to compel the Government of India to honour its word about releasing Pakistan's share of the cash balances.

The mass killings followed by the exodus, unparalleled in history, from both countries, also had a paralyzing effect on our people and our Government. Was Birla's prophecy, executed with the most inhuman weapons of an undeclared war, to turn out correct? The Indians certainly wished hard and prayed that it would. But they forgot in their intoxication, the existence of the Supernatural Being who presides over the destiny of mankind. He did not want India to succeed in her designs—and she did not. Pakistan emerged triumphant from the terrible crisis foisted upon her and, thanks to Allah, has not had to look back again. The India-Mountbatten plan to wreck Pakistan at its birth and to re-absorb her into India failed dismally.

I shall end this chapter by narrating an interesting incident which took place in the summer of 1952 at London, when the Indian Cricket team visited England to play a series of test matches with the "mother country". As was customary, the hosts invited the guest team to a luncheon soon after its arrival. Prominent cricketers, past and present, along with other dignitaries including the High Commissioners of the Commonwealth countries were also invited to the function.

At this luncheon, I was seated next to Lord Louis Mountbatten at the high table. I needed no introduction to him and, perhaps on glancing at my card he also recollected who I was. After an exchange of a few pleasantries, he started talking on the Muslims of India at Partition time and of the great service he had rendered them in the creation of their homeland. Amongst other things, he said that he had helped the Muslims greatly and had it not been for him, Muslims would have got little or nothing. He went on to say that he was a sort of *persona non grata* with the Muslims of Pakistan because they had suspected him of doing injury to their cause, which he had not done. When history is written after tempers have cooled down, he said, he would occupy a place which will do his memory honour. He would be blessed by Pakistanis of the coming generations. He said and I

quote: "After a hundred years, the Muslims of Pakistan will bless me and my memory for the service I have rendered them". My reply was brief. I said: "Lord Mountbatten, permit me to tell you that you are being over-optimistic. We Pakistanis have a legitimate grouse against you which the coming generations too will never forget or forgive. You have done us grave injury".

These words were enough to make him shut up like a clam. Although several courses followed our conversation, not one word was further exchanged between us. I considered it immoral on my part to remain silent and let Lord Mountbatten, the great Sea Lord, get away with what he had said.

In later years, at the time when Mr. Iskander Mirza was President of Pakistan, an attempt was made to welcome Mounthatten on our shores. The National Reconstruction Movement, of which I was an active executive, moved quickly in the matter and, within a week, mounted such agitation in the city of Karachi and elsewhere that our Government had to, on a lean pretext, withdraw its invitation. As a result, Lord Mountbatten did not step on our soil and saved himself embarrassment and our country bloodshed.

FOREIGN RELATIONS AND KASHMIR

SOME lines on Qaid-e-Azam's foreign policy should not be inappropriate in this book. Until we gained our independence, we adhered to Muslim League policy which was: friendship with all the Muslim nations of the world, which was later expanded to read: "We desire friendship with all nations of the world and want no enmity with any". As an under-developed nation just born with countless problems to tackle, we could not afford the luxury of siding with this power or that nor with one group or the other. The Qaid observed in his broadcast talk to the people of USA in February, 1948:

"Our foreign policy is one of friendliness and goodwill towards all the nations of the world. We do not cherish aggressive designs against any country or nation. We believe in the principle of honesty and fair-play in national and international dealings, and are prepared to make our contribution to the promotion of peace and prosperity among the nations of the world. Pakistan will never be found lacking in extending its material and moral support to the oppressed and suppressed peoples of the world and in upholding the principles of the United Nations Charter".

He did not live long enough to forge this policy and to make it strong enough to resist pressures from within and without. For some years his policy was pursued and then abandoned in favour of one camp because it carried aid, military and civil. These were the years commencing 1955 upto mid-1962, when a change became perceptible. Since then, much to the satisfaction of patriots and believers in the Qaid's wisdom, our policy has slowly but surely veered round to the days of the Qaid and to the first four years after his demise. We now seek friendship with nations who are not our enemies, be they non-Communist or Communist, and do all we can in trying hard to persuade our enemies to like us. So far, much to our regret, the response has been discouraging. In fact, hostility and land-grabbing show their ugly countenance at every turn compelling us at long last to stand four-square and meet the threat and challenge with determination.

and complete calm. This attitude of the present President must give joy to the soul of the Father of our nation for, I am confident, he would have acted in similar fashion, had Allah spared him. He would have called a halt to Indian designs, Indian expansionism in territories which are ours, and to Indian threats. A halt had to be called and the spineless reactions of some of our past governments had to end and there was no better time than the present to say: "Stop your bullying, we cannot stand it any more".

I was intimately connected with the Kashmir dispute, particularly in its early stages when I was deputy to Chaudhri Zafrullah Khan when it was first brought to the Security Council of the United Nations by India in early January, 1948. This dispute which has so long remained unresolved due entirely to India's unreasonableness, is a subject every adolescent and adult of our country knows only too well. Government's and UN records are bursting at the seams on this subject. Besides, several books have been written on the dispute. It would not be an exaggeration to say that hundreds and thousands of reams of paper have been expanded and millions of words uttered and written in our country and elsewhere on this regrettable and unending dispute. So I shall deal with only a few letters written at the time to my Governor-General, Qaid-e-Azam, from New York and Washington concerning the dispute particularly during the period when the situation suddenly, and for no reason, began to assume an ugly shape for us in the Security Council. The relevant excerpts from my letters of February 7, 1948, March 27, 1948, April 20, 1948 and May 19, 1948, are reproduced below:

New York
February 7, 1948

My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

I must pray your forgiveness for my unusually long silence. The question of Kashmir has kept us all both worried and busy. By God's mercy and with His help, we have done very well so far, and in spite of India's continued effort to get her own way, she has not succeeded in doing so. Yesterday, the Security Council adjourned until Monday afternoon and directed the President to continue the efforts of the President of last month to bring about a settlement by negotiation between the two parties. We met at the office of the Belgian Delegation last evening and a draft resolution prepared by the President and Rapporteur, based on the opinions expressed by almost all the members of the Security Council who have so far spoken, was handed to us. As usual, this Resolution along with the reactions particularly of the Indian Delegation have been cabled to Government last night. Except for one or two minor alterations solely for the purpose of clarification, we consider the Resolution fair and reasonable. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar declined to accept it because, according to

him, it left India's main complaints and allegations untackled. He, however, undertook to communicate the draft Resolution to his Government and ask for further directions. We meet again on Monday morning. The meeting of the Security Council has, therefore, been postponed until Tuesday. Just before last night's conference terminated, Zafrullah Khan drew the attention of the President to the report that India is about to hold a plebiscite in Junagadh, and told him that if such an action were taken, there would be one more obstacle in the way of arriving at an overall settlement. Mr. Gopalaswami Ayyangar assured the President that he would ask his Government not to proceed with the plebiscite as that question too was, in a way, sub judice. The way that negotiations and discussions are proceeding makes me feel that we shall have to be in New York for another two or three weeks at the very least. India keeps on shouting that the matter is of extreme urgency and that the Security Council should act without delay. At the same time, she is solely and wholly responsible for the entire delay. Long and repetitious speeches are inflicted on the Council on the slightest pretext. None of them discloses the slightest change from the attitude originally taken up by India.

The other evening, we had the pleasure of hearing Sheikh Abdullah and making an ass of himself. He lost control of his tongue with the result that he even blasphemed by uttering that "not even God Almighty, if appointed to take charge of the Interim Government, would remain neutral". Yesterday, Zafrullah Khan tore Abdullah mercilessly to shreds.

I am enclosing a letter addressed to you by Mr. Arnold B. Vaught. I must give full credit to the Church World Service, Inc., who have done and are doing so much for Pakistan relief.

I trust this letter finds you in the best of health. With regards to Miss Jinnah and yourself,

Yours very sincerely,
sd/- HASSAN

The above letter was acknowledged on the 17th March on behalf of the Qaid-e-Azam by Mr. S. M. Yusuf, his Private Secretary, with the remark that the Qaid-e-Azam would be glad if I wrote to him regularly and kept him informed of the developments in the UN on the Kashmir issue and other important matters.

On the 27th of March, I addressed the Qaid-e-Azam as under:
My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

The sudden turn of events at Lake Success must have shocked you. In spite of what Attlee told Zafrullah Khan in London, I did not think that the UK would dare to commit such a *volte face*. She has, however, done it and has managed to talk the USA, France, Canada and Belgium into following suit. China,* who from the outset pulled in favour of India, served as an excellent tool. It is no longer a secret in spite of the earlier denials by

* Chiang Kai-shek's China.

269

Britain that the Chinese resolution now before the Security Council, was in fact sponsored by Britain and approved of by the USA.

You have been kept fully posted with the day-to-day developments at our end. No effort is being spared by Zafrullah Khan to retrieve the position. Everything is being done and will be done to secure a fair and just settlement and any proposals that fall short of it, will, of course, be resisted.

Zafrullah Khan and I feel that at the present critical stage maximum pressure on the UK and USA is necessary. It will undoubtedly help immeasurably if you contact the High Commissioner for UK and the US Ambassador and through them convey to their respective Governments your reactions and the reaction of your Cabinet to the sudden and unwarranted change in policy and also make it clear that Pakistan will have nothing to do with a proposal or recommendation that on the face of it is one-sided and out only to appease India, however wrong her stand may be. I am convinced that threat and blackmail on the part of India gave Attlee cold feet. It is both urgent and necessary therefore that the UK and USA should be advised that we are determined not to swallow a pill that they are out to manufacture for us which pill, we know, will cause us incalculable and irreparable injury which in honesty we do not deserve. Pressure from home will, I am sure, help Zafrullah Khan here.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
sd/- HASSAN

April 20, 1948

My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

The resolution on Kashmir sponsored by six members of the Security Council came up for consideration on Saturday the 17th of April. These six nations spoke in its support and France followed suit. The meeting was adjourned until Monday the 19th. The proceedings commenced with a speech by Gopalaswami Ayyangar. In his ninety minutes' address he told the Council that some of the clauses were wholly unacceptable to his Government and made a bitter grievance of the fact that Pakistan had not been chastised for "acting against her friendly neighbour in an unfriendly way". At times he spoke boastfully of the prowess of his country. It is clear from his tone and words that India is absolutely confident of achieving a military victory in Kashmir within the next few months, if not within the next few weeks. It seems that his Government believes that when the Indian Army begins to move into Kashmir, it will go through the territory now occupied by the Azad forces with the ease of a knife cutting butter. It is learnt here that large quantities of weapons, vehicles, ammunition and supplies have been taken to Kashmir and a substantial portion of India's mechanised army has also been moved to that theatre. In short, everything is ready for the launching of a major offensive. I am sure the Azad Kashmir Government and its friends are fully aware of India's contemplated move and preparations have been fully made to stem such an advance. It seems that the Kashmir dispute will eventually have to be settled in Kashmir and not at Lake Success and that unless India faces a military reverse, there cannot be any hope of a fair reason.

Britain that the Chinese resolution now before the Security Council, was in fact sponsored by Britain and approved of by the USA.

You have been kept fully posted with the day-to-day developments at our end. No effort is being spared by Zafrullah Khan to retrieve the position. Everything is being done and will be done to secure a fair and just settlement and any proposals that fall short of it, will, of course, be resisted.

Zafrullah Khan and I feel that at the present critical stage maximum pressure on the UK and USA is necessary. It will undoubtedly help immeasurably if you contact the High Commissioner for UK and the US Ambassador and through them convey to their respective Governments your reactions and the reaction of your Cabinet to the sudden and unwarranted change in policy and also make it clear that Pakistan will have nothing to do with a proposal or recommendation that on the face of it is one-sided and out only to appease India, however wrong her stand may be. I am convinced that threat and blackmail on the part of India gave Attlee cold feet. It is both urgent and necessary therefore that the UK and USA should be advised that we are determined not to swallow a pill that they are out to manufacture for us which pill, we know, will cause us incalculable and irreparable injury which in honesty we do not deserve. Pressure from home will, I am sure, help Zafrullah Khan here.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
sd/- HASSAN

April 20, 1948

My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

The resolution on Kashmir sponsored by six members of the Security Council came up for consideration on Saturday the 17th of April. These six nations spoke in its support and France followed suit. The meeting was adjourned until Monday the 19th. The proceedings commenced with a speech by Gopalaswami Ayyangar. In his ninety minutes' address he told the Council that some of the clauses were wholly unacceptable to his Government and made a bitter grievance of the fact that Pakistan had not been chastised for "acting against her friendly neighbour in an unfriendly way". At times he spoke boastfully of the prowess of his country. It is clear from his tone and words that India is absolutely confident of achieving a military victory in Kashmir within the next few months, if not within the next few weeks. It seems that his Government believes that when the Indian Army begins to move into Kashmir, it will go through the territory now occupied by the Azad forces with the ease of a knife cutting butter. It is learnt here that large quantities of weapons, vehicles, ammunition and supplies have been taken to Kashmir and a substantial portion of India's mechanised army has also been moved to that theatre. In short, everything is ready for the launching of a major offensive. I am sure the Azad Kashmir Government and its friends are fully aware of India's contemplated move and preparations have been fully made to stem such an advance. It seems that the Kashmir dispute will eventually have to be settled in Kashmir and not at Lake Success and that unless India faces a military reverse, there cannot be any hope of her seeing reason.

If I may venture to express an opinion, I would say that one of our best men should be entrusted with the whole-time duty of keeping the Azad machine working smoothly and efficiently. I cannot think of a better man for this great and responsible job than Mohamed Ali. My association with him here has led me to the irresistible conclusion that he is not only a fine man of high principles but also exceedingly capable.

After Gopalaswami Ayyangar, Zafrullah took the floor. His speech of two hours was a magnificent performance. His reasoning was clear, his arguments unassailable. He quoted from the earlier speeches of the sponsors of the "final resolution" to show how they had suddenly changed their stand and how they were now labouring to make us accept what they themselves not long ago considered to be unfair and unjust. He made a clear analysis of the resolution and submitted our amendments to it which, he said, were in line with the principles propounded by nine nations before they were cast into the Hudson for some "unknown" reason. Most of the representatives were unable to hide their discomfiture but that is hardly a consolation for us.

After Zafrullah's speech, the Syrian representative expressed his grievance at the manner in which the President and five other members supported by France had presented a *fait accompli* to the Security Council. He went on to say that in these circumstances it was just futile to ask the other members of the Council to express their views or to make concrete suggestions for a fair and equitable settlement. The President immediately replied that it was neither his intention nor the intention of the other six members, China, Belgium, Canada, UK, USA and France, to create a majority to rush the resolution through or to shut out participation by the other members. At this stage, Dr. Arce of Argentina proposed that the general debate be closed and that the Council at the next meeting consider the resolution, clause by clause.

The Council will meet on Wednesday the 21st and will decide on the procedure and act on the decision that will be arrived at.

I doubt if any material change in the resolution will be effected. India by expressing displeasure and disapproval and by rejecting the resolution yesterday, has almost certainly insured against any more modification to the further detriment of her interest. Weak-kneed England and her colleagues will not dare to sponsor or accept any change that may further incur the wrath of India.

It is indeed a tragedy that justice, honesty and fair-play occupy no place in the so-called great organisation of the U N. It is most regrettable that every question, in the final analysis, is judged on the strength of the parties to a dispute and not on the merits of the case that is brought before it for decision.

With kind regards,

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

May 19, 1948

....The more I follow international politics and the more I come in contact with it at Lake Success, the greater grows my belief that in international affairs, the Law of the Jungle holds unquestioned sway. Justice, equity, fair-play and legality are hollow words. Might is right and every question or dispute is judged not on its merits but on the touch-stone of expediency and power politics. He who is strong can get what he wants and he who gets hold of anything and is strong enough to keep it, retains it in spite of the inequity and illegality of his act. As I have said, the more I see the U N at work, the more I arrive at the conclusion that reliance on this body to do justice is to expect the impossible. Every nation will have to rely on its own strength. It is, therefore, absolutely essential for us to build the structure of our strength on a sound foundation. We have, during the last few months, seen the handling of several cases, each of which supports my contention. Take Kashmir, take Palestine. All principles of justice and legality were sacrificed at the altar of expediency and power pressure. Take again Czechoslovakia—the U N has not been able to do anything so far because the power behind the Czechs is Russia. Had there been a smaller nation in the place of Russia, the outcome of the whole matter would have been different....”

Yours very sincerely,
HASSAN

Uptil this day, my opinion of the United Nations on the political side of its activities, has remained unchanged.

When the Qaid found the tone of my letters bristling with despondency and frustration, this is what he wrote from Quetta on the 14th of June, 1948:

No 124- G.G.(C).

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S HOUSE
KARACHI

Quetta, 14th June 1948.

My dear Hassan,

I have received your letter dated the 4th of June and thank you for giving me all the information. Dont worry about me. I was somewhat over-worked and naturally had to pay the penalty for it. But let me assure you that there is nothing wrong with me. A little rest in Quetta has done me a lot of good. I am going to Ziarat on the 17th where I hope to spend about 10 days. I will probably return to Karachi before the end of this month.

Well, I note that you are a bit home-sick, and naturally tired because you had to go through such nerve-raking developments at Lake Success. Yes, I know that your family

QAID-E-AZAM AS I KNEW HIM

is in Karachi, and you propose to ask Government before the end of this month to permit you to return home for consultation and then get back to the U.S. with your family. Personally I do not see any reason why there should be any objection to this course, and I do hope that the Government will try and meet you, although I have no knowledge of their views at the moment of my writing this letter. But I think they will refer the matter to me before giving you a final reply.

With best of wishes from Miss Jinnah and myself.

There is nothing to worry about, and I would like you to cheer up. I am confident that we will come out of all these problems which are facing us successfully, for the simple reason that our cause is righteous and we are facing it with honesty and fighting for justice and fairplay.

Yours sincerely,

M. A. H. Ispahani

His Excellency M.A.H. Ispahani,
Embassy of Pakistan, Washington, D.C.

From that day upto today, notwithstanding the many vicissitudes the Kashmir situation has seen, my faith in his words has remained unshaken. I do believe in all earnestness and sincerity that whatever the circumstances, the people of Kashmir must and will exercise their birthright of deciding whether they will accede to India or to Pakistan through a free and unfettered plebiscite. And when this happens, Pakistan's equitable and just demand, the demand for self-determination which is accepted as a fundamental principle by the United Nations, will be met.

FIGHTING TO THE LAST

As I have stated elsewhere in these pages, the Qaid-e-Azam worked hard and literally drove himself to an untimely death. When he was at work, he would not be worried even by hunger or with the consideration of keeping people waiting who were to join him at a meal. He worked fanatically and expected the same of others. He often said that time was running out fast and we had little of it to lose. It was anxiety coupled with the tremendous strain of hard work, particularly in 1946 and 1947, which shattered his health soon after he moved into the Governor-General's House at Karachi. Serious illness gripped him in February 1948. When he opened the State Bank in July 1948, he looked emaciated and very ill. From that day on, his health began to fail fast and recovery eluded him more and more with the passage of each month.

Even though his health was rapidly declining, the fighting spirit of the Qaid never rose to greater heights than it did during the few months that he lived after the establishment of Pakistan. The Anglo-Hindu combine had designed a plan to concede Pakistan on such terms and conditions as would, humanly speaking, prevent the new State from consolidating itself as an independent entity and eventually force its merger with India under pressure of overwhelming circumstances. This is evident from the hope expressed by two of the most powerful leaders of the Congress. Sardar Vallabhbhai Patel in a letter, to a member of the Congress Working Committee said, "A strong Centre with the whole of India—except East Bengal and part of the Punjab, Sind and Baluchistan—enjoying full autonomy under the Centre will be so powerful that the remaining portions will eventually come in". Mr. Nehru nursed the same hope. In the course of a conversation with Leonard Mosley, he said, "The truth is that we were tired men and we were getting on in years too.... The plan for Partition offered a way out and we took it. But if Gandhi had told us not to, we would have gone on fighting and waiting. But we accepted. We expected that Partition would be temporary, that

Pakistan was bound to come back to us"¹ This was a challenge to the honour and courage of the Muslim nation and its leader, and both accepted it.

The sinister aspect of the plan to cripple Pakistan was to overwhelm it with a torrent of uprooted and tormented refugees driven out of India, before it had had time even to set up a regular administrative machinery. Qaid-e-Azam moved his headquarters to Lahore to give his personal attention to the grave problems arising out of the influx of the refugees. The situation was explosive. The refugees represented an inflammable material. The Qaid handled the critical situation with such vision, courage and wisdom that the refugees were inspired with feelings of loyalty and devotion to the country where they had found asylum and became a source of strength to it. His soul-stirring speeches revived the faith and confidence of the people, particularly the refugees, leading to concerted and determined efforts which saved the country from collapse and ruin. I quote an extract from one of his speeches which will always be a source of inspiration to Pakistanis:

"Do not be overwhelmed by the enormity of the task. There is many an example in history of young nations building themselves up by sheer determination and force of character. You are made of sterling material and are second to none. Why should you also not succeed like many others, like your own forefathers? You have only to develop the spirit of *Mujahids*². You are a nation whose history is replete with people of wonderful grit, character and heroism. Live up to your traditions and add to it another chapter of glory". Like a true *Momin*³ the Qaid-e-Azam put heart in his people by reminding them of the lesson of Islam as follows: "Keep up your morale. Do not be afraid of death. We should face it bravely to save the honour of Pakistan and Islam. There is no better salvation for a Muslim than the death of a martyr for a righteous cause".

Pari passu with the refugee situation was the threat of economic strangulation with which the Indian Government confronted Pakistan.

The Qaid-e-Azam had his eyes on every aspect of the structure of Pakistan, particularly the vulnerable parts. He was anxious to consolidate and strengthen the foundations of Pakistan even if it cost him his life. He undertook long and arduous journeys to the North-West

1 Quoted in Leonard Mosley's *The Last Days of the British Raj*.

2 Mujahid: One who fights for the cause of Islam.

3 Momin: A Muslim who accepts and practices Islam.

Frontier Province and Baluchistan and directly contacted the tribesmen. He had already taken a spectacular decision which caught the imagination of the people in the border areas. The British had kept armed forces in the forward areas to control the turbulent tribesmen. The Qaid ordered withdrawal of the forces in the forward areas and told them, "The British have gone, it is now your country and state". The Qaid's faith in the tribesmen was fully justified. They instinctively realised that it was now their responsibility to maintain the integrity and independence of Pakistan. They felt proud to be its citizens. Their loyalty to the country has stood all trials and they have proved to be a source of strength to it.

A rather disturbing situation was created in East Pakistan by the appearance of certain unhealthy influences and tendencies. Hindu and pro-Hindu propaganda to the effect that East Bengal was the neglected step-child and that Urdu, as a single national language, would be forced upon it, carried with it highly explosive possibilities. Undaunted by the hazards of the long journey, the Qaid decided to proceed to East Pakistan and stabilise conditions in the Province which was already the object of sinister designs from across the border. In the early days, air journey between the two wings of Pakistan was not as swift and comfortable as it is now. The Qaid travelled in an old Dakota whose tiring flight to Dacca took over ten hours. He was a true democrat to the depth of his being and his faith in the people was unlimited. He tackled even violent agitations by direct approach to the people. He addressed vast gatherings and also spoke over the Radio, his words touching the deepest chords in the hearts of the people of East Pakistan. He asked them not to feel isolated and assured them of his deep and abiding concern in their well-being. He dealt with the numerous problems faced by East Pakistan and indicated how they could be overcome. He succeeded in mollifying inflamed feelings and turning the people's attention to constructive effort and nation-building tasks. He stabilised the conditions in East Pakistan and made it feel that it had an honoured place in the future of Pakistan.

In words which have become classic, the Qaid-e-Azam set out the causes and factors leading to the establishment of Pakistan and also explained its mission in the world. Speaking at Chittagong on March 26, 1948, he observed: "You are only voicing my sentiments and the sentiments of millions of Musalmans when you say that Pakistan should be based on sure foundations of social justice and Islamic socialism which emphasises equality and brotherhood of man. Similarly, you are voicing my thoughts in asking and in aspiring for equal opportunities for all. These targets of progress are not contro-

versial in Pakistan, for we demanded Pakistan, we struggled for it, we achieved it so that physically as well as spiritually we are free to conduct our affairs according to our traditions and genius. Brotherhood, equality and fraternity of man—these are all the basic points of our religion, culture and civilization. And we fought for Pakistan because there was a danger of denial of these human rights in this sub-continent. We aspired for these great ideals because of centuries of dual domination by the foreign rulers and by a caste-ridden social system.... It is natural for some to think only in terms of Government but the sooner our mind's eye is capable of piercing through the horizons to see the limitless possibilities of our State and of our nation, the better for Pakistan. Then and then alone it would be possible for each one of us to realise the great ideals of human progress, of social justice, of equality and of fraternity which, on the one hand, constitute the basic causes of the birth of Pakistan and also the limitless possibilities of evolving an ideal social structure in our State".

When his health had seriously declined, the Qaid-e-Azam came down to Karachi from Ziarat against medical advice to perform a public duty. To him duty always took precedence over health or comfort. He had realised that Pakistan could not depend on the Reserve Bank of India for its fiscal and economic policies. It seemed he was anxious to see Pakistan set on the path of financial and economic independence before death overtook him. Under his orders the plan for setting up the State Bank of Pakistan was finalised before the scheduled date. Inaugurating the State Bank of Pakistan on July 1, 1948, the Qaid remarked that the Bank symbolised "the sovereignty of our State in the financial sphere". He expressed the view that "the economic system of the West has created insoluble problems for humanity" and felt that "the adoption of Western theory and practice will not help us in creating a happy and contented people". He stressed the need for evolving a juster economic system by remarking: "We must work out our destiny according to our own way and present to the world an economic system based on true Islamic concept of equality of manhood and social justice. We will thereby be fulfilling our mission as Muslims and giving to humanity the message of peace which alone can save it and secure the welfare, happiness and prosperity of mankind".

It appears as if he were prompted by a premonition of his approaching end to perform his last public act designed to strengthen the foundation of Pakistan. The best way for us Pakistanis to express our gratitude to him and honour his memory is to evolve "the economic system" and build the "ideal social structure" he longed for.

Even when the Qaid lay seriously ill and weak at Ziarat, he was engrossed in his official work. I still recollect our talk on the morning of my arrival there from Karachi. When I pressed him not to worry about files and routine Government matters and to take complete rest because, according to Colonel Elahi Buksh, his physician, rest was essential for recovery, he would not listen. I pleaded that his life to our newly-born sovereign State meant more than all else and that his leaving us at a critical stage of our existence would be a tragedy of appalling magnitude, he smiled and said to the following effect: "My boy, there was, indeed, a time soon after Partition and until early 1948 when even I worried whether Pakistan would survive the many unexpected and terrible shocks which India had administered soon after we parted company with her. But we pulled through and nothing will ever worry us so much again. I have no fear now. Men may come and men may go, but Pakistan is truly and firmly established and will go on, with Allah's grace, forever".

Such was his faith and belief in the homeland which, with Allah's help, he had created and such should be the faith and conviction of every Pakistani in the destiny of his country.

The Qaid was a whole-hogger; he never gave up half way. "Whenever you start something, stick to it until you finish". This is a piece of excellent advice, and our rising generation will do well to be guided by it in life.

Earlier I mentioned how particular the Qaid was about signing Money Order receipts of even four annas, contributions sent by many of the poor Muslims of India who loved him and had implicit faith in his leadership. His reason for spending his time and valuable energy was that he wanted each donor to be proud of his assistance, however small, and to know that his leader had personally acknowledged it. Besides this, it brought out another trait of character which was deeply ingrained in him. He was a stickler for the minutest detail. He showed this in many ways and on many occasions. I shall deal with only two after he became the first Governor-General of Pakistan.

As everyone knows, on August 14, 1947, the day Pakistan was born, our administrative machinery was severely dislocated. Pakistani personnel and our share of equipment and finances were held up unduly by New Delhi. We needed everything, from paper to desks, men and money. At this time it was considered necessary to have seals struck for use on documents that had to be attested by Government and also to design a Coat of Arms for our country which would be dissimilar to that of the British and the Indian. On my reaching

Washington, I was asked by the Qaid to have designs made and rush them to him for approval. I complied. I reproduce the designs and his remarks over his signature. This illustrates how meticulous he was in matters of small detail. He paid personal attention to the smallest detail.

(Reader may kindly look at the two sides of the page opposite and observe the remarks on the designs over his signature)

I suggested to him to purchase a new car—a Cadillac, as the fleet left behind by the British was fit for the scrap-heap. He agreed. He was so fond of attending to the smallest detail that he even chose the colour of the automobile and did not leave it to me to send him a black limousine, which colour is normally accepted by heads of states and ambassadors. In his letter of 7th October, 1947, he wrote: "As regards the colour, I would prefer it to be according to the sample I am enclosing herewith". And the colour was light blue, not black!

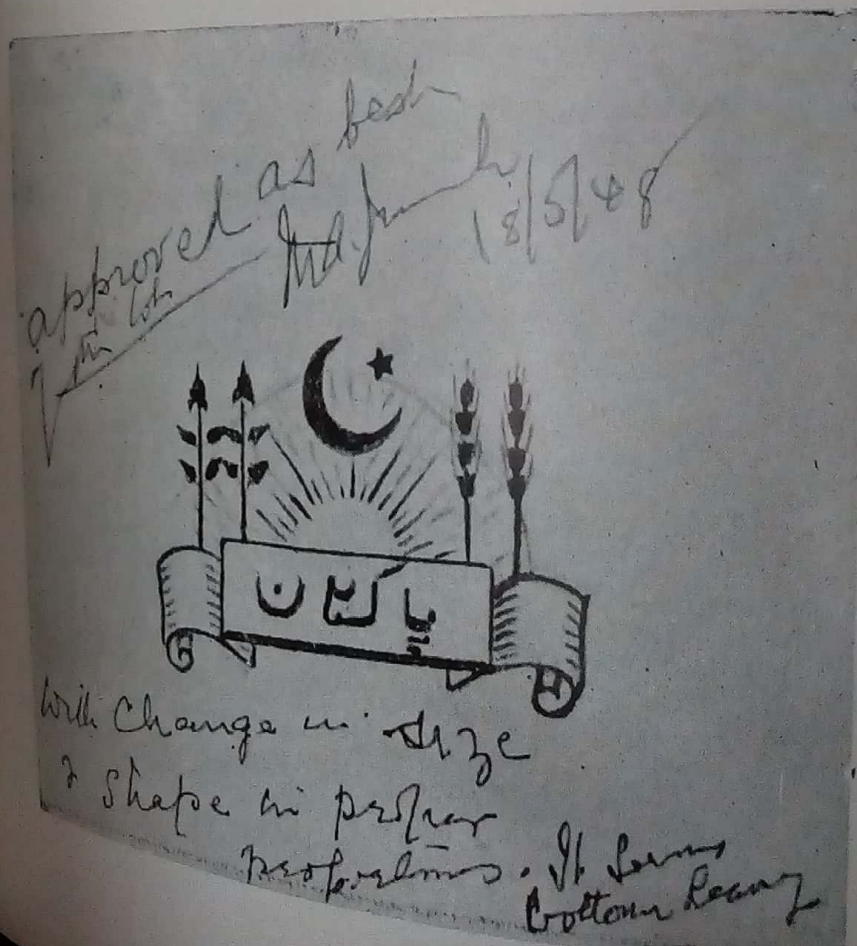
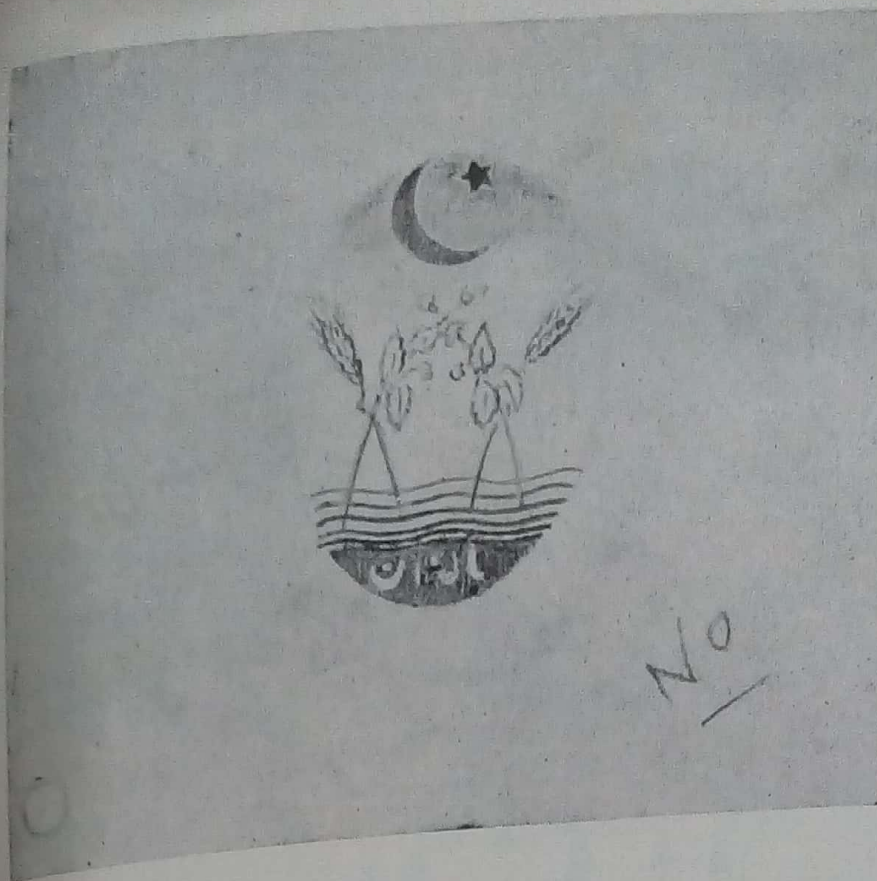
In the preceding pages I have narrated the incident of Khwaja Nazimuddin, a member of the All-India Muslim League Working Committee, who suddenly took ill in Delhi when he was attending a meeting of the Working Committee and had to be rushed to hospital. The Qaid had appeared to us to be hard-hearted and bereft of human feelings. Yet there were times when his reactions belied this impression. I shall cite an incident which occurred in the closing stages of his precious life.

On my return to Washington after visiting him at Ziarat where he lay very ill, I wrote to him more than once inquiring about his progress. He knew that I was as deeply concerned about his health as a member of his family. He knew of my love, devotion and respect. I am sure he also knew only too well that from day to day he was growing weaker and weaker and that his life's journey was rapidly drawing to a close. Yet he did not want to depress me. This disclosed gentleness and consideration in his character which is not commonly found. I wrote to him on August 17, 1948, as below:

My dear Qaid-e-Azam:

Had it not been for the statement of the Cabinet released two days ago regarding your health, I would not have inflicted a letter upon you. We are told that you propose to return to Karachi by the end of the month. This news is most disquieting.

I beg of you not to return to Karachi before the end of September. If you find Ziarat too cold, you can move to Quetta. You must, however, take complete rest and keep away from work, interviews and worry irrespective of the immediate or even long-term consequences. You

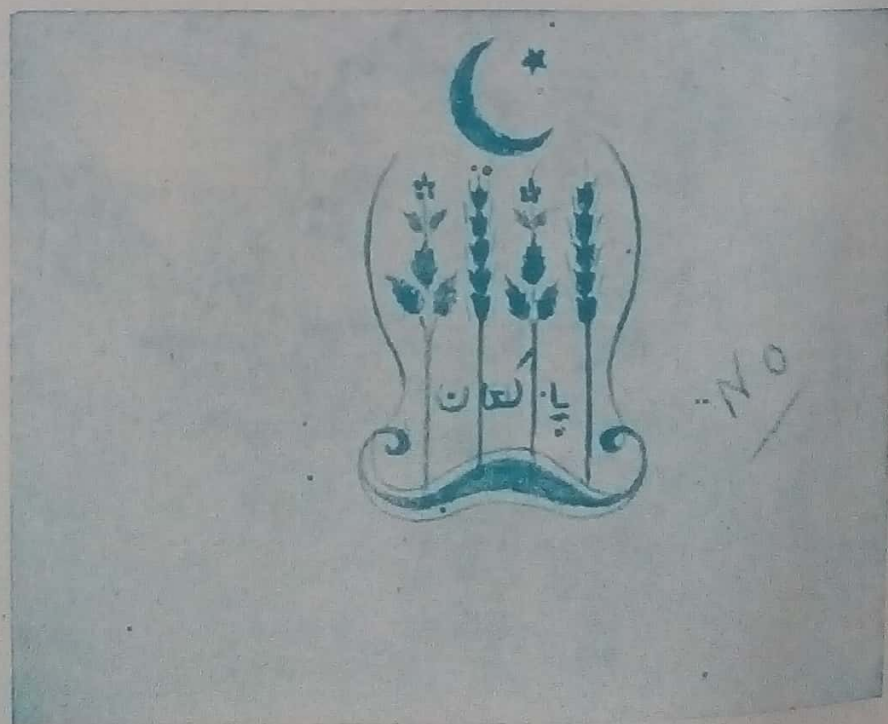


G. H.

(Government House)



approved sample
the front
18/5/48



must rest and go absolutely easy until you regain the strength that you have lost through over-exertion and overwork.

I shall not weary of telling you how important, nay essential, it is for the nation that you have created to have you as its head for many, many years to come. You are its priceless jewel.

I was delighted to receive confidential information, telegraphically, this afternoon that your health has considerably improved since I saw you at the end of last month. Some more rest and quiet will make you as fit and strong as you should be.

May God bless and protect you. Ameen.

Very sincerely yours,
HASSAN

And he replied on the 1st of September as per photostat copy hereunder, giving me hope.

No. 469-9.9. (c)

GOVERNOR-GENERAL'S HOUSE
KARACHI

Camp Quetta.

1st September 1948.

My dear Hassan,

Many thanks for your letter showing anxiety for my health.

My return to Karachi is not fixed and you need not worry that I will be unwise to hasten my return. Besides the Doctors do not allow me to do so.

Thank you very much for all your concern. There is nothing to worry.

With kind regards,

Yours sincerely,

Mirza Isphani

His Excellency Mirza Abol Hassan Isphani,
Ambassador of Pakistan to the U.S.A.,
2343, S Street North West,
Washington D.C.

This letter was the shortest he had ever written to me. It reached me on September 13, two days after his demise. The signature clearly showed that the Qaid-e-Azam's strength was failing and his vitality was disappearing fast.

Earlier, as I bade him farewell at Ziarat I witnessed the Qaid in one of his rarest moments of emotion though he was considered to be a hard-hearted and matter-of-fact man. For the first time did I see tears struggling to roll down his emaciated cheeks. They could be seen in the wells of his eyes. I was to return to Karachi and from Karachi to fly to my post at Washington. Waving goodbye to me, as I was leaving his bedroom door, was the last I saw of him. In the verandah, at the head of the stairs, I met Miss Jinnah, She was weeping quietly and emotion did not leave me calm and cool. I went downstairs, picked up my suitcase, as I was staying at the Qaid's house, bade goodbye to Miss Jinnah, and with a heavy heart, left for Quetta.

Much as I tried to find out what was actually wrong with my leader, I did not succeed. Dr. Elahi Bukhsh, who was the senior attending physician, would not tell me. I did not suspect tuberculosis, although he looked a fit subject for this fell disease. I was under the impression that it was sheer exhaustion resulting from years of heavy draft on his limited strength, interminable worries and inadequate intake of food and definite lack of sleep. However, it was arranged before I left Ziarat that if any specialists' aid was required from the United States, I would be informed in good time and not when it was too late. The call came after my return to Washington, but before a specialist could board the plane, news came through, within twenty hours of receipt of the SOS from Karachi, that our great teacher, our great leader, the supreme commander of one hundred million Muslims of our sub-continent had passed away.

On the demise of the Qaid-e-Azam, I received at Washington, a telegram from my brother, Mirza Ahmad, which condoled the death of our Great Leader. It was so worded that it did not read as a telegram from one brother to another on the loss of his friend, but like a telegram one friend sends to another, condoling the death of his father. The members of my family and most of my friends and acquaintances knew the deep affection and regard I had for the Qaid and also of my unflinching devotion to him until his death and to his memory, thereafter.

Note: I reproduce in appendix a few letters written by me on the Qaid-e-Azam's demise which may be of interest, reflecting as they do, my feelings at that time, that have ever since remained constant.

FIGHTING TO THE LAST

A Fateha Khwani (prayer for the repose of the soul) took place at the Embassy for three consecutive days and, thereafter, a 'Chehlum' (40th day) memorial service was held at the Department of Interior Auditorium in Washington, at which the Diplomatic Corps turned out in full force. The President of USA was also represented. At this meeting, the proceedings were simple. Every head of the Muslim Diplomatic Mission read 'sooras' (verses) from the Glorious Koran. At the termination of the proceedings Fateha was read, all standing, and was followed by one minute's silence.

In closing my file of correspondence which commenced from the latter half of 1936 and ended on the 1st of September, 1948, I, as Ambassador to the United States or America, wrote the following obituary on the 12th of September and with its reproduction below, now close the final chapter of this book on Mohammed Ali Jinnah, the Man.

"PAKISTAN AFFAIRS"

WASHINGTON

12th September, 1948

"From God do we come and unto God do we return".

—Holy Quran

THE QAID-E-AZAM PASSES AWAY

Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali Jinnah, creator of Pakistan and its first Governor-General, passed away at 10.25 p.m. on Saturday, September 11, 1948, at Karachi. He had come to Karachi from Quetta on the previous day against his physicians' advice and ordered an emergency meeting of the Pakistan Cabinet.

This tragic event has stunned the whole of Pakistan. Over half a million (about eighty per cent of the population of Karachi) turned out to attend his burial.

The Father of the Nation lived long enough to see his dream come true. Though he is no more, the nation lives as his everlasting memorial. The nation had full need of him today—of the guidance and inspiration of which he was the source. But the words he uttered, shortly before his death, will long cheer and encourage the nation: "Pakistan is firmly and well established. I have no fears. Men may come and men may go, but Pakistan, by God's grace, will live forever".

He has also left behind his example for his people to follow—the example of a man who worked himself to death in the cause of the nation. And the end could not overtake him except in the saddle.

MAY HIS SOUL REST IN PEACE.

EPILOGUE

So my story has drawn to an end. I have searched my memory and have gone through the pages of the records I possess, to write this book. My aim is to assist the generations of Pakistanis who will follow us in having a better understanding of the sterling character and fascinating personality of the Father and Founder of Pakistan and also to appreciate the glorious role he played in securing for the Muslims of our sub-continent a homeland which both the British and the Hindus were loath to give.

To me, Mohammed Ali Jinnah was a hero fighting for the independence of the Muslims of the sub-continent. To me, his words on politics had the force of law. To my friend the Raja Saheb of Mahmudabad and to myself, a slight hint from him was a command. We followed him implicitly as loyal soldiers from the day we both swore fealty to him after the first meeting of the All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board at Lahore, which loyalty did not waver until the day of his death. We did not, even for once, dream of changing our loyalty. We continue to be loyal to his memory. He was an inspiration for us. I did not believe that he was capable of taking an unwise decision—a decision which would be to the detriment of the interests of his brothers and sisters in faith.

Mohammed Ali Jinnah died on September 11, 1948, in Karachi. Since then, many of his ideals, attitudes and thinkings have been swept away to make room for thoughts and loyalties which were foreign to his nature. Some remain who still cling to his way of thought and action, who cherish his ideals and who want Pakistan to be the State he envisaged and even dreamed it to be. Let us Pakistanis pray that, sooner than later, the beautiful day will dawn when we shall see Pakistan a still greater nation, a land whose people live the life of true freedom, equality, justice and happiness, admired by friends and foes for the manner in which we conduct our domestic and foreign affairs, always keeping on the path of rectitude within and in pursuit of a truly independent foreign policy without, working strenuously in support of "friendship with all and enmity with none" (one of the Qaid's sayings). These may appear to be ideals, but are nonetheless clear highways which lead a nation to greatness. Let us gird up our loins and make an earnest effort to gain this superb objective. It is well worth the effort.

And lest we forget I may add that, though physically removed from us, Mohammed Ali Jinnah still commands the sentiments and

emotions of the people and his spirit still reigns supreme in the life of the country he founded. The people bless his name in their silent prayers, for they realise that it was only through his dedicated efforts and matchless leadership that they won their cherished freedom and today hold their heads high in the comity of sovereign nations. His hold on their affections and loyalties is evident from the fact that whenever the country is overtaken by a crisis or is faced with a trial, it is Jinnah's name, his deeds, his wise words and precepts that are invoked to stir the emotions and patriotic zeal of the people and steel their resolve to overcome difficulties and resist evil or aggression. 21

On no other occasion was the magic spell of Jinnah's name brought out more forcefully than during the war of September 1965 when India unabashedly launched a sneak attack on the international frontiers of Pakistan against all canons of international law and morality. In all the poems, songs and articles written and speeches made during that terrible crisis to stimulate patriotic feelings and will to fight and resist, Jinnah's name, after the names of Allah, the Prophet and the heroes of early Muslim history, served to rally the people and create in them an invincible resolve to defend their freedom and sovereignty to a victorious end. If ever any attempt is made to denigrate Jinnah and to bury his name, the warmth of the people's heart and their intense sense of gratitude will rise and drown such miserable efforts. Jinnah was of the people and for the people because he reflected their sentiments and worked for their freedom and well-being as no one else did or has done since his passing away. He lives and shall ever continue to live in their hearts.

Long live Mohammed Ali Jinnah

Long live the people of Pakistan.

APPENDIX "A"

Washington D.C.
September 11, 1948.

Telegram sent on September 11, 1948.

Liaquat Ali Khan, Prime Minister, Karachi (Pakistan)

The Father of our Nation is no more. He has left us at a time when we most need his experience, guidance and inspiration. His battle for the freedom of Muslims, his selfless service to the people he loved so dearly and for whom he died, should be sources of inspiration to every Pakistani and Muslim. Not only did he lay in his lifetime the firm foundation of a great structure but he was spared long enough to see its completion. It is now for his people, in every sphere of life, to pursue his ideals. At this critical hour of our existence, it is essential for us all to work as one man with determination and single purpose to make our country what our beloved Qaid-e-Azam wanted it to be. By this determination alone and by ceaseless effort to do what our Qaid-e-Azam would have done, can we bring peace to his soul. Knowing you as I do, I am confident you will rise to the expected stature and with your experience and training pilot the ship of our Nation through the tempestuous seas and shoals which have been its lot ever since we achieved our independence.

Hassan Ispahani



Unveiling of plaque at Qaid's student-days lodgings in London—June 1955.

By Courtesy of Mohtarama Fatima Jinnah

“I can assure you that there is nothing greater in this world than your own conscience and, when you appear before God, you can say that you performed your duty with the highest sense of integrity, honesty and with loyalty and faithfulness”.

Address to Civil Officers of Baluchistan at Sibi, February 14, 1948.

APPENDIX "B"

Washington D.C.
September 29, 1948.

My dear Brother:

Your letter of September 24, was delivered early this morning.

You are still worried. You must not be. Qaid-e-Azam has obeyed the call of Allah and has left his nation to carry on from where he has left. Our enemies who have prayed for his death and when it came, openly rejoiced and talked freely that with the death of Jinnah the whole of Pakistan would break up; that Pakistan would fall like a ripe plum into the lap of India; that the Muslims would realize the mistake their Leader made in carving out a nation for them, and that the "house that Jinnah built" would be razed to the ground after his earthly remains were laid to rest, now find, to their great dismay and chagrin that they have erred once more. They have found that Pakistan has emerged stronger and more determined and united than she was when the Qaid-e-Azam was alive. The people who constitute the nation came forward with the determination to hold together and to do their bit. Owing to the very clever and veiled propaganda of our foes, the world, expecting everything to go wrong when Jinnah closed his eyes, was pleasantly surprised when nothing extraordinary happened and it was discovered that Pakistan stood like a rock. No, we need not worry. Of course, we shall have to work for our protection as well. Our cause is just; our programme is honest. We have no territorial designs and we do not want to rule. Our aim is to live peacefully, develop our country's resources, raise the standard of living of our masses and balance our present lop-sided economy. Allah has helped us all along the way. Without his help Jinnah would not have achieved all that he did. He often said to me, "Do not worry. Our cause and aim are just; God is with us."

If we do not forsake the path of our religion and do not forget our Creator, we shall have, Inshallah, nothing to fear.

Pakistan Zindabad.

Mr. M. A. Ispahani,
Karachi/Chittagong.

Very affectionately yours,
Hassan

Washington D. C.
September 15, 1948

My dear Miss Jinnah:

Ever since hearing the shocking news of the untimely death of our beloved Qaid-e-Azam I have made several efforts to write to you but on each occasion did not find adequate words to express my sorrow. You know better than anyone else the respect and love I had for him. You know that I always considered him to be like my own father and placed at his disposal my loyalty, love and even my life. His demise has, believe me Miss Jinnah, left a wound that will never heal. I shall remember him all my life and will always pray for the peaceful repose of his soul. He has obeyed the call of Allah at a time we needed his mature experience, ability, guidance and inspiration. Not only Pakistan but also the Muslim and Arab world bitterly mourn his loss.

Immediately on receipt of the distressing cable from Amin, I moved heaven and earth to get away to Pakistan one of the top-most chest specialists in the United States. I rushed to New York to make a personal appeal to Dr. Riggins and to persuade him to leave by last Tuesday's direct plane and, in fact, succeeded in doing so. Before I met him personally, Dr. Riggins said that it would be impossible for him to leave the country before the middle of next week. I was actually congratulated on my achievement. But alas, fate decreed that even early Tuesday was too late by three days.

In this hour of your sorrow and the seventy-five million orphans of Pakistan, I offer to you my heartfelt condolences and appeal to you to be brave and to work unceasingly for the ideals for which he lived and died. I am sure he expected this of you and am equally confident that you will not fail him.

The third day, a Fatheha ceremony, the first of its kind ever to be held in Washington, was held at my residence, the Embassy, yesterday morning at 10.30. The members of the staff, the Muslim residents of the city and the Arab and Muslim diplomats turned out in full force. There was the recitation of the Holy Koran and the proceed-

ings wound up with a Fatheha. We shall be holding the Chehlum ceremony here which will be open to Muslims and non-Muslims.

I have received a heap of telegrams and messages, not only from the United States but from all over the Western hemisphere. Pakistanis in every town and city of the Western hemisphere have had Fatheha ceremonies and memorial services. Of course, diplomats have called and are still calling on me.

Once again, I pray that God gives you strength to bear this tragic catastrophe with equanimity. May the soul of our beloved Qaid-e-Azam rest peacefully. Amen.

Yours sincerely and in sorrow,
Hassan

Miss Fatima Jinnah,
Governor General's House,
Karachi (Pakistan)

P.S. I have just received a letter dated First September which I presume is the Qaid-e-Azam's last letter to me. In it he tells me that his return to Karachi is not fixed and that I need not worry and he would be unwise to hasten his return. "Besides", he says, "the doctors will not allow me to do so." While thanking me for my concern, he tells me not to worry. Little did he know at the time he dictated the lines that he would not live ten days beyond then and would plunge the whole nation in deep sorrow.

APPENDIX "D"

Washington D.C.
October 21, 1948.

My dear Miss Jinnah:

The Eid came and went. It was no Eid for us. We devoted the day to meditation and prayer.

We held the Chehlum Memorial Service last evening. It was an impressive religious ceremony and was well attended. Members of the Diplomatic Corps were present in good numbers. The President's representative was also present.

The Qaid-e-Azam has gone to his heavenly home, leaving a void in our hearts and souls that will remain unfilled so long as we live. While we pray for the peaceful repose of his soul, we shall serve his ideals and the State he created for us and for our children with redoubled energy, zeal and devotion.

Very sincerely yours,
Hassan

Miss Fatima Jinnah,
Flagstaff House,
Karachi (Pakistan)

APPENDIX "E"

Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman in his book *Pathway to Pakistan* has tried to explain away his failure to return to the country—Bharat—to which he had sworn loyalty in the solemn precincts of its Parliament at Delhi. This explanation is so far-fetched that it has not convinced any fair-minded person. He has even tried to shift the blame on the Qaid-e-Azam which is even more unfair and unconvincing. To put the record straight and to dispel wrong impressions created by unjustifiable arguments and conclusions, I propose to examine the matter in some detail.

The episode starts with a statement issued by Mr. Khaliquzzaman as a rejoinder to Chaudhri Zafarullah Khan's statement on the mass killing of Muslims in India. Chaudhri Zafarullah who was leading the Pakistan Delegation to UN General Assembly was reported to have told Press correspondents in New York that the Indian Government had done nothing to control the communal disturbances. Asked whether he was authorised by his Government to make a formal complaint to the Assembly he said: "Not yet, but if the situation is not adequately controlled immediately by the Dominion of India, I am expecting any moment to be asked by the Pakistan Government to raise the matter before the United Nations Assembly, as this situation constitutes a grave threat to the peace of the world.... If this deliberate and planned extermination of people continues unchecked by India, Pakistan, as a last resort, must seek satisfaction through the United Nations and if it fails to get that satisfaction it may have to resort to direct measures.... The killing of Muslims has been going on for more than a month in the Province of East Punjab and latterly in the Province of Delhi.... Naturally the delegation is very much concerned at the moment with the happenings in and near our homes, where our dearest and nearest ones may at any moment be destroyed.... The responsibility for this rests entirely on the Government of India which, so far, has utterly failed to discharge its responsibility or even to face it squarely." He asserted that the only thing that the Indian Government had done so far to control the trouble was "to appeal to reason but the inflamed non-Muslim sections of the population could not be expected to react to these appeals, particularly when the Government's own police force, in many instances, had abetted and

encouraged and even participated in the extermination of Muslims."¹

This statement undoubtedly indicated the profound anxiety and concern of the Government and people of Pakistan regarding the planned brutal attacks on the Muslims in East Punjab and in and around Delhi and brought out the Indian Government's responsibility in this behalf. Choudhry Khaliquzzaman thought fit to contradict the assertions and pleas of Zafarullah and issued the following rejoinder

"Sir Zafarullah Khan's statement indicating his personal views in regard to the steps which, in his opinion, the Pakistan Government may be ultimately obliged to take to save the Muslim minority in the Indian Union, coming soon after the West Punjab Muslim League Council's resolution for imparting military training to the youth in Pakistan, expressed a deep sympathy of the Pakistan Muslims for their co-religionists in India, but I do not think Sir Zafarullah has correctly appreciated the situation in India before making the statement without any directive from the Pakistan Government.

"That the Muslim minority has suffered and is suffering serious loss of life and property in some parts of the country does not admit of any contradiction, but it cannot be said that in West Punjab the non-Muslim minority have not also suffered, in such measure that mass emigration has taken place there. In such a state of huge mass upheaval, the matter to be coolly considered is what has been the attitude of the Governments concerned during the short period of their taking office? In my judgment, whatever calamity has come to pass was neither at the instance of the two Governments nor with their connivance. Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, has frankly stated, in one of his recent statements in connection with the upheaval, that his Government was taken unawares. What was true of Delhi was true of East Punjab also, where for a time, there was no Government worth the name, and atrocities were perpetrated without any powerful authority to check it.

"The decision of the British Government, to transfer complete power to the two Governments before the Radcliffe Boundary Award, has been primarily responsible for what followed. When the army was being divided on a communal basis, the British Government, before its statement of June 3, should have made the division complete or have handed over power only when passions, which were bound to be excited by the decision of the Boundary Commission, had sufficiently subsided.

"In these circumstances it is not correct to say that the Government of India are responsible for what has happened. Most gruesome things have happened in spite of them and their efforts. It should be realized by the Muslims in Pakistan that the whole honour and prestige of the Congress Government, as well as the Congress organization, is involved in the present

¹ Quoted in Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman's book *Pathway to Pakistan*, Pages 401, 402.

292

struggle for the restoration of peace in the country, and the Congress Ministry at the Centre and the Ministers in the provinces are striving hard to shoulder the onerous task. Above all, Mahatma Gandhi is straining every nerve to impress upon the people in India that independence would not be worth anything if the present inhuman and barbarous killing of one community by the other does not immediately end. Who can deny that by his untiring effort and at risk to his life he restored peace not only in Calcutta, but throughout East and West Bengal. If today, the Congress efforts for the restoration of normal life are not bearing fruit to the extent to which they should have, it is because a large section of the people has become anti-Congress for its having been a party to the division of India. Let us hope and pray that the Union Government will soon succeed in restoring normal life throughout the huge country."²

Mr. Khaliquzzaman's statement, as its tone and tenor show, is an attempt to condone the Indian Government's conduct, defend its policies and absolve it of responsibility for the terrible sufferings of the Muslim minority in India. It is based on certain assumptions which are unjustifiable. He contends that in West Punjab the non-Muslim minority had also 'suffered in such a measure that mass emigration has taken place there'. He forgets that mass killings started in East Punjab and Delhi and when blood-stained trains with dead Muslim bodies reached West Punjab, there was a natural reaction leading to reprisals which no Pakistani leader ever condoned or defended. The Pakistani authorities, both Central and Provincial, took prompt and strong measures to quell the disturbances and restore normal conditions, whereas killing, looting and burning continued in East Punjab, Delhi and other parts of India. It was the desire of the Qaid-e-Azam and other Pakistani leaders that the non-Muslim minority should stay in Pakistan. But the Indian leaders insisted on total evacuation of non-Muslims from West Punjab and NWFP and of Muslims from East Punjab.

Choudhry Saheb pleads that the calamity that had taken place was neither at the instance of the two Governments nor with their connivance and he refers to Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru's statement that his Government was taken unawares. Choudhry Saheb's remarks, in so far as the Pakistan Government is concerned, are correct, but not so in the case of the Government of India. Unwittingly he pays a poor compliment to the Indian Government's sources of information and to the Indian leaders' ability to read the mind and intentions of their own people after partition of the sub-continent had been decided upon with their consent. In this connection, reference may be made to an incident which took place at the Viceroy's office in New Delhi on

² Quoted in Chaudhry Khaliquzzaman's book *Pathway to Pakistan*, Pages 401-402.

August 5, 1947. After a meeting of the Partition Council, Lord Mountbatten produced before Mr. Nehru, Sardar Patel, the Qaid-e-Azam and Mr. Liaquat Ali Khan, a CID officer from Lahore sent by Sir Evan Jenkins, Governor of the Punjab. Leonard Mosley, author of *The Last Days of the British Raj*, who had access to the Government of India's records, discloses:

"The C.I.D. officer brought considerable documentation with him. Trouble-makers had been arrested in Lahore, Amritsar and several other centres in the Punjab. They had been closely questioned. As a result, the C.I.D. were convinced that not only were several Sikh plots afoot to sabotage the plan for partition, but that several of the Sikh leaders were implicated. He produced letters from a number of Sikh personalities and copies of leaflets and instructions issued to Sikh Gurudwaras. One plan was to blow up the canal system in the West Punjab; another was to attack trains proceeding to Pakistan; a third to force Muslim villagers to leave their homes in East Punjab and then ambush and kill them on the way and finally there was a plot to assassinate Mr. Jinnah as he rode to power in Karachi in the celebrations of August 14, 1947—the day before Pakistan Independence Day. It seemed at least reasonable that in the face of such proof—backed as it was by repeated warnings of trouble from Jenkins—the Sikh trouble-makers should be put out of the way."

It cannot, therefore, be denied that the Indian leaders and the Indian Government were not only aware of the sinister designs and murderous intentions of their people but they failed to discharge their elementary responsibility for maintenance of Law and Order and protection of the life and property of a helpless minority. It is a fact that the Indian police and even the Army did not afford protection to the hapless Muslims in the troublous days of August-September, 1947.

Towards the conclusion of his statement, Choudhry Saheb admits that 'the Congress efforts for the restoration of normal life are not bearing fruit to the extent to which they should have', but he immediately blames it on the division of India, for he attributed the failure of the Congress efforts to a large section of the people having become anti-Congress 'for its having been a party to the division of India'. This assumption is again contrary to facts and is a feeble attempt to exonerate the Congress of the blame which attaches to it. There had been large-scale, savage killing of innocent Muslims in Bihar and Garhmukhteswar (UP) in October and November 1946. The Congress, till then, had not agreed to partition and it held the reins of Government in both these provinces. Congressmen themselves were behind these riots and some of them actually participated in them. Sardar Patel, iron-man of the Congress, in his speech at the Meerut Session of the Congress in November, 1946, had sarcastically asked the Muslims to examine the 'balance-sheet' of casualties and threatened them that

the 'sword will be met with the sword.' Here was a follower of Mr. Gandhi's cult of Ahimsa (non-violence) threatening the Muslims with the sword! What effect such utterances had on the Hindu mind can easily be imagined. If Choudhry Saheb's contentions were accepted it would have to be recognised that the division of India, to which Indian leaders had consented, provided the Hindus with a just cause to fall on the Muslims and exterminate them. As a matter of fact, the Congress at that time was a very powerful organisation, commanding the allegiance and support of a vast majority of Hindus and if its leaders had made serious efforts, backed by their own Government which certainly had far greater resources than the Pakistan Government, they would have succeeded in bringing the situation quickly under control and preventing bloodshed and genocide of the Muslim minority.

It is, therefore, obvious that Choudhry Saheb's statement was no service to his unfortunate co-religionists in India whose leader he claimed to be, while it had the effect of hampering Pakistan's efforts to expose ill-treatment of India's Muslim minority in the world abroad and securing some relief for the Muslims in their sufferings. With evident satisfaction Choudhry Saheb claims that his 'statement was very well received in India as it ought to have been,' and further, 'the people gave it welcome which exceeded my expectations'. This is quite understandable. If Choudhry Saheb's statement was very well received and widely welcomed in India it was because he, as a Muslim leader, had given a clean certificate to the Indian Government and the Congress leaders and had, by implication, questioned Pakistan's efforts to ensure protection and relief to the Muslim minority in India. In fact, Choudhry Saheb's statement, read as a whole against the background of the conditions then prevailing, amounts to an attempt to injure Pakistan's image abroad.

Choudhry Saheb then mentions the circumstances in which he came to Pakistan. He says he was sent for by Mr. Gandhi and when he met him in Delhi on September 30, Mr. Gandhi 'embraced' him 'very cordially'. According to Choudhry Saheb, Mr. Gandhi said that he 'would not allow the Mussalmans to crawl on the streets in India. They must walk with self-respect.' On this Choudhry Saheb said, 'Gandhiji, this is very heartening. How can I be of any service in this laudable cause?' And Mr. Gandhi's reply was, 'If you could persuade the Sindhi Hindus not to run away from Sind, my task in India would be easy.' Choudhry Saheb pleaded that he had had no communication with Mr. Jinnah or his party since they left India for Pakistan, but for this work 'I will have to contact them and find out their views'. This was a strange plea. Surely the views and policy of the Qaid-e-Azam

and other Muslim League leaders on this question were not unknown to Choudhry Khaliquzzaman. He had not been separated from his erstwhile colleagues for years. The Qaid-e-Azam had repeatedly stressed that the non-Muslim minority should stay in Pakistan and had assured it of the fullest protection and had backed his assurances with positive action. In Sind there had been no disturbances of the kind that had taken place in East and West Punjab. In Karachi, there was only one disturbance which was brought under control within a few hours, whereas in Delhi, the killing of Muslims had gone on for days together. Choudhry Saheb himself states in his book that when he met Mr. Khuhro, the Premier of Sind, the latter 'expressed great resentment against the Congress President Acharya Kirpalani for not pulling his weight in dissuading the Sindhi Hindus from leaving Pakistan, although he (Khuhro) was doing everything possible to assure them of the safety of their lives and security of their property with the full knowledge and sanction of Mr. Jinnah'. The Government of Pakistan even allowed the Indian High Commissioner, Mr. Sri Prakasa, to proceed to Larkana in Sind accompanied by Mr. Khuhro, to persuade Sindhi Hindus not to migrate to India but, as Chaudhry Saheb says, 'the attempt did not succeed.'

It passes one's comprehension as to why Mr. Gandhi charged Choudhry Khaliquzzaman with the task of persuading Sindhi Hindus to stay in Pakistan. Choudhry Saheb ought to have asked Mr. Gandhi to assign this function to Acharya Kirpalani who, being a Sindhi Hindu, was the right person to use his influence with the Hindus of Sind not to leave their homes. The fact is that Acharya Kirpalani was exerting his influence in the opposite direction. He was persuading the Hindu traders and bankers to migrate to India in the hope that the vacuum thus created would ruin Pakistan's economy beyond repair. He remarked in one of his speeches, 'A strong, economically successful India can win back the seceding children to its lap. The freedom we have achieved cannot be complete without the unity of India.*

However, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman arrived in Karachi on October 2, 1947, with bag, baggage and family as an emissary from Mr. Gandhi ostensibly with the object of preaching the virtues of peace. He had an interview with the Qaid-e-Azam on October 5, and his account of the interview, reproduced below makes strange reading:

"Mr. Jinnah came with my rejoinder to Sir Zafrullah Khan's statement in his hand and read it to me, expressing surprise that it had been broadcast

* Quoted in Selig S. Harrison's article 'Troubled India and her Neighbours' published in the magazine, Foreign Affairs dated January, 1965.

from India for three days. I reminded him that it was the statement of the Leader of the Opposition in the Indian Constituent Assembly and India had attached great importance to it. Thereupon he said, 'It has hurt us very much!' I asked him how anything said by a Muslim citizen of India could bind down the Government of Pakistan or have any effect on it. Nevertheless as he was dissatisfied with my answer, I said I would not go back to India but would send in my resignation, to enable someone else who might have his confidence to replace me and serve the Indian Muslims."

Choudhry Saheb adds that 'After I came back to my house I searched my heart to find how I had done any harm to Pakistan or its people by my rejoinder as I knew that Pakistan was as keen to see peace and quiet restored in the sub-continent as were Gandhiji and Jawaharlal.' Enough has been said before to show how Choudhry Saheb's statement not only hurt Pakistan and the Muslim minority in India but also helped India in its virulent campaign to malign Pakistan and to present a respectable picture of itself to the world. But the strangest part of Choudhry Saheb's remarks is his attempt to shift the blame on the Qaid-e-Azam for his refusal to go back to India. Of course, his statement could not bind down the Government of Pakistan but that is beside the point. His statement, however, had certainly hurt Pakistan, its people and Government for reasons which have already been set out in detail. His argument that he 'would not go back to India but would send in his resignation to enable someone else who might have his (Qaid's) confidence to replace me and serve the Indian Muslims' beats all reason and logic. If the Qaid had expressed an unfavourable opinion about a particular statement of his, that did not furnish Choudhry Saheb with an excuse not to return to the country to which he had sworn allegiance only a few days earlier and to turn his back on his co-religionists whom he represented in the Indian Parliament out of his own free will, as he has himself stated in his book. India and Pakistan having come into being as two separate, independent states, there could be no question of someone enjoying the Qaid-e-Azam's confidence being elected as leader of the Muslim League Party in the Indian Parliament. Even if it were possible, the Government of India would never have tolerated it and the life of such a leader would be impossible in India. Nor did the Qaid-e-Azam ever express such a wish or make such a demand. In his own interest, Choudhry Saheb should think of a more convincing explanation for his failure to return to India, so that the historian may take a lenient view of it.

According to his own testimony, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman had observed that everything possible was being done to ensure the safety of the Sindhi Hindus' life and property 'with the full knowledge and sanction of Mr. Jinnah' and that 'Pakistan was as keen to see peace and quiet restored in the sub-continent as Gandhiji and Jawaharlal.'

The proper course for Chaudhry Saheb, therefore, would have been to return to his post of duty in India and to have prevailed upon Mr. Gandhi and other Congress leaders (of whom he speaks in warm terms) to redouble their efforts for the protection of minorities as Pakistan was doing. Choudhry Saheb recalls the advice given by the Qaid-e-Azam, on July 6, 1947, to the Muslims remaining in India that 'the minorities should be loyal to the State to which they belong.' It was a perfectly sound and unexceptionable advice and Chaudhry Saheb admits that he 'took it seriously to heart'. He further states that he had travelled from Lucknow, leaving his wife seriously ill, in order to be present to welcome the Independence of India. On the night of August 14-15 he spoke after Pandit Nehru, expressing sentiments of loyalty to the Indian Union. He recalls with evident pride that 'Jawaharlal came direct to me and embraced me heartily for the sentiments I had expressed.' Surely the sentiments which Choudhry Saheb had expressed on such a solemn occasion should not have been cast aside even if he felt that the reception accorded to him in Pakistan was not to his liking. I may here recall the example of the late Nawab Mohammed Ismail Khan who belonged to the same province as Choudhry Saheb. Nawab Saheb voluntarily chose to remain in India and stuck it out throughout his life without uttering a word of complaint. He retained the respect in which he was held both in India and Pakistan.

Towards the end of his book, Choudhry Khaliquzzaman graciously concedes that 'a strong and living Pakistan' is 'evidence enough of his (the Qaid's) solid achievement' and 'the title of Qaid-e-Azam conferred on him by the people' is 'a merited tribute to commemorate him'; and further, 'that Mr. Jinnah was a great man no one can doubt and when he took up the Pakistan cause he never swerved from it.' But in the next breath he nullifies these eulogies by reproducing a sentence from Sardar Patel's speech which is quoted in an Urdu book of history. Translated into English, the sentence reads: 'The man who got Pakistan established belonged to this city. Thank God he has left and we are very happy.' The fact that Choudhry Saheb thought fit to end his book with this quotation shows that he evidently regards himself as the creator of Pakistan. It is another matter, though perhaps it is of no concern to Choudhry Saheb, that the Pakistan nation and every knowledgeable man in the other parts of the world hails Qaid-e-Azam, Mohammed Ali Jinnah of hallowed memory, as the Founding Father of Pakistan.

APPENDIX "F"

(In the High Court of West Pakistan, Karachi Bench, Karachi)
(In the Chief Court of Sind.)

Original Civil Jurisdiction.

J. Civil Misc. Appln. No. 23 of 1949.

Mr. Mahmud Illahi, son of Mr. Karam Illahi, Muslim, adult, aged 31 years, merchant, residing at No. 3, Second Floor Mohatta Building, McLeod Road, Karachi..... Petitioner.

Versus.

1. The Dawn Trust.
2. Mr. Abdul Ghaffar Chotani.

"A."

On Court Fee Stamp of

Rs. 1177/8/- (Rupees One thousand one hundred and seventy seven and annas eight only).

TO ALL TO WHOM THESE PRESENTS SHALL COME I, MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH Muslim, Inhabitant at present residing at 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi SEND GREETINGS: WHEREAS the Muslim community in India being backward in education and other social matters and public life, certain Muslim Philanthropists of India decided to provide the Muslim public with good newspapers by dissemination of news and ventilation of opinion on all matters of public interest to them AND WHEREAS in pursuance of the said desire several Muslim Philanthropists contributed large sums for starting newspapers with the above objects AND WHEREAS the amount of such contributions in my hands upto date comes to Rs. 1,57,000/- which I hold in trust for the purpose of starting such newspapers in English and Urdu as I may deem fit to provide the Muslim public of India with good newspapers by dissemination of news and by ventilation of educated public opinion on all matters educational, social or otherwise affecting them AND WHEREAS I have out of the said funds purchased printing machinery, stock of paper and other machines and tools required for running newspapers and am running two daily Muslim news papers one known as "DAWN" in English language and the other known as "MANSHOOR" in Urdu language AND WHEREAS the said papers are providing the Muslim

public with all news and ventilating the opinion upon all matters affecting the Muslim public and spreading the educated public opinion amongst them AND WHEREAS I am now possessed of the printing press, machinery and other assets belonging to the said newspapers "DAWN" and "MANSHOOR" and a sum of Rs. 22,450/-/- (Rupees twenty two thousand four hundred and fifty) in trust of the Muslim public of India AND WHEREAS I am now desirous of making a formal declaration of trust in respect of the said machinery and assets of the said newspapers "Dawn" and "Manshoor" including good-will there of and of the moneys held by me in trust as aforesaid NOW KNOWYE AND THESE PRESENTS WITNESS and I do hereby Declare that the printing press, plants, machinery, stock of paper and other outstandings and assets of the said two papers "Dawn" and "Manshoor" of Delhi and the sum of Rs. 22,450/- (Rupees twenty two thousand four hundred and fifty) now with me are held by me upon Trusts for the purpose of providing the Muslim public with good newspapers by dissemination of news and giving them educated Muslim opinion on all matters of public interest and I hereby further declare that they are Waqf property and I have no proprietary interests therein and I hereby further declare that I am the Sole "Mutavalli" (Trustee) of the said funds and assets with absolute power of management thereof and the income and profits derived from the same are utilised and shall hereafter be applied in perpetuity to the following charitable purposes:—

- (a) For the maintenance of the said newspapers in an efficient condition and manner and also for the development and improvement of the said newspapers.
- (b) For providing well equipped and modern Press for the said newspapers.
- (c) For establishing other organs and press and News Agencies in other parts of India for providing organs of educated public opinion.
- (d) For giving education to suitable young men of Muslim faith in the art of Newspaper work, journalism and cartoons.
- (e) For purchasing immovable property for housing the said newspapers, and
- (f) Generally for such objects of General public utility as the trustee or trustees for the time being may think fit for the benefit of the Muslim community of India.

AND THESE PRESENTS FURTHER WITNESS that I will have power to nominate my successor or successors and he or they so nominated will be the Mutavalli or Mutavallis in my place and stead and I reserve the

power to change the said nominees or successors and make fresh appointment or appointments, and neither I nor the Muttavalli or Mutavallis so nominated shall have power to sell, mortgage or in any other way transfer the same except as may be necessary for the purpose of the said newspapers and all moneys belonging to the said papers and funds in the hands of the Mutavalli shall be deposited in banks and utilised for the purpose of the said papers and for the objects mentioned above.

The Trustee or Trustees shall have power to appoint any agent or agents by giving him or them special or general power of attorney.

IN WITNESS THEREOF I the said Mohammed Ali Jinnah have hereunto set my hand and seal at Delhi aforesaid this 18th day of November One thousand nine hundred and Forty six.

SIGNED SEALED AND DELIVERED

by the within named
MOHAMMED ALI JINNAH

Sd/- M.A. Jinnah,
18.11.46.

in the presence of
Sd/- Wahiduddin Ahmad,
Advocate,

Sd/- Mahmood Hasan,
General Manager,
Dawn, & Manshoor.

Presented by Mr. Mohammed Ali Jinnah, M.L.A. of No. 10, Aurangzeb Road, New Delhi, at his above mentioned residence as a Special Case by permission of the Registrar Delhi, this 19th day of November, 1946 between the hours of 3 & 4 p.m.

Sd/- M. A. Jinnah.

Sd/- Aziz Ahmad Khan,
Sub-Registrar, Delhi.

Execution admitted by the said Mr. Mohd. Ali Jinnah who is known to me personally, corrections are initialled.

Sd/- M. A. Jinnah.

Sd/- Aziz Ahmad,
Sub-Registrar, Delhi.

Seal of the Sub-
Registrar of Delhi.

Registered as No. 639 in book No. 4, Volume No. 280, on page 232 to 242 this 25 days of November, 1946.

Compared.
S. M. Hanif. R.C.

Sd/- Aziz Ahmad,
Sub-Registrar Delhi.

True copy.
Sd/- Wahiduddin Ahmed.

Certified to be true copy of a true copy.

Sd/- Superintendent.

INDEX

- Abdullah, 268
 Abdullah, King, 246
 Abdullah-el-Baqi, 27
 Abdullah, Sheikh, 268
 Abbas, Mirza, 81
 Abell, Sir George, 256
 Acheson, 241
 Adamjee, 73, 77, 125
 Adamjee, Sir, 72, 78, 119, 121, 126, 127, 130
 Aga Khan, 110, 117
 Aga Khans, 117
 Aga Khan III, 12
 Ahimsa (non-violence), 295
 Ahmad, Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad, 12, 49, 55, 170, 177, 218, 225, 259
 Ahmad, Mian Bashir, 53, 56, 237
 Ahmad, Mirza, 69, 70, 82, 82, 87, 92, 93, 130, 280
 Ahmad, Shamsuddin, 15, 27, 28
 Ahmad, Sir Sultan, 78
 Ainul Mulk, 4, 78
 Air Licensing Board, 131
 Akali Sikhs, 141
 Akhand Hindustan (Undivided India), 184, 199
 Akhwan-ul-Muslimeen (Muslim Brotherhood), 246
 Akram, 250
 Alderman, 4, 101
 Alexander, 205, 225
 Alexander, A.V., 100, 125
 Alexandria, 246
 Aligarh, 12, 141, 177
 Aligarh Muslim University, 177
 Ali, Amjad, 169
 Ali, Chaudhri Mohamed, 238
 Ali, Hasan, 27
 Ali, Liaqat, 127
 Ali, Malik Barkat, 17
 Ali, Maulana Shaukat, 16
 Ali, Mohamed, 13, 270
 Ali, Muratab, 169
 Ali, Nausher, 15, 27, 138, 139
 Ali, Nawabzada Hasan, 15
 Ali, Syed Amir, 12, 13
 Allah, 87, 108, 130, 140, 175, 185, 197, 207, 228, 241, 265, 267, 277, 283, 285, 286
 Allahabad, 31, 33, 154
 Allahabad Session, 60
 Allah-o-Akbar, 38
 All-India Congress Committee, 213
 All-India Muslim Educational Conference, 147
 All-India Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 129
 All-India Lower Grade Postal Employees Union, 233
 All India Muslim Chamber of Commerce 119, 120
 All-India Muslim Chamber of Commerce and Industry 119, 120
 All-India League, 180
 All-India Muslim League, 12, 15, 17, 19, 21, 24, 25, 26, 31, 33, 44, 45, 46, 46, 49, 58, 60, 64, 90, 97, 115, 144, 147, 152, 153, 155, 157, 158, 160, 166, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 181, 184, 186, 195, 203, 204, 227, 240, 243.
 All-India Muslim League Council, 54, 168
 All-India Muslim League Fund, 114
 All-India Muslim League Parliamentary Board, 2, 14, 20, 150, 282
 All-India Muslim League Working Committee, 66, 97, 230, 252, 258, 278
 All-India Muslim Students Federation, 48
 All-India Progressive Muslim League, 182
 Ambala, 252
 Ambassador, 106
 Ambassador of Hindu-Muslim Unity, 148
 Amjad, 169
 Americans 241
 Amery, 168, 170
 Amery, L.S., 134
 Amir, 80, 140

Amir-ul-Mominin, 108
 Amman, 246
 Amrita Bazar, 47
 Amrita Bazar Patrika, 89
 Amritsar, 252, 294
 Anglo-Arabic College, 145
 Anglo-Hindu Combine, 273
 Anglo-India, 223
 Anglo-Indians, 191
 Anjam, 67
 Ansari, 27
 AP 69
 API. 91
 Arab, 286
 Arce, Dr., 270
 Argentina, 270
 Aryavarta, 7
 A Survey of Indian History, 11
 Asre Jadid, 67, 85
 Assam, 14, 16, 111, 142, 143, 144, 173, 205, 211, 215, 228, 238, 250, 253, 256
 Assam Legislature, 215
 Assam Premier, 215
 Assam Provincial Muslim League, 111
 Assembly, 47, 48
 Assembly Coalition Party, 47
 Attlee, 101, 136, 222, 247, 257, 268, 269
 Attlee Government, 257
 Australia, 89, 127
 Aurangzeb Road, 49, 53, 68, 76, 130, 207, 225
 Axis, 88
 Ayyangar, Gopalaswami, 267, 268, 270
 Ayub, M., 245
 Azad, 85, 176, 182, 214, 215, 270
 Azad Bengali, 67
 Azad Forces, 269
 Azad, Abul Kalam, 212, 215, 230
 Azad, Maulana, 215
 Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam, 30, 31, 34, 168, 214, 230
 Azamgarh, 192
 Aziz, Mian Abdul, 14, 17

 Badarpur, 254
 Badruddoja, 184
 Badruddoja, Syed, 27
 Bahraich, 31, 32
 Bakhsh . Dr. Elahi, 108, 280
 Bakhsh, Col. Elahi, 277

Baluchistan, 138, 144, 199, 211, 273, 275
 Balurghat, 49
 Banias, 54
 Baraset, 254
 Barisal, 176
 Bardoloi, 215
 Bardoloi, Gopinath, 215
 Barodawala, Salehbhoy, 96
 Barrister, 116
 Basit, 4
 Beaumont, 252
 Beas, 252, 255
 Belgian Delegation, 267
 Belgium 268, 270
 Benamidars, 10
 Bengalee, 90
 Bengal, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 20, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 43, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 58, 61, 69, 79, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 92, 97, 106, 111, 115, 132, 137, 138, 139, 143, 144, 151, 154, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 162, 169, 171, 172, 174, 175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 182, 183, 185, 188, 190, 191, 92, 193, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 205, 211, 215, 218, 219, 230, 234, 235, 236, 249, 250, 251, 253, 257, 258.
 Bengali, 12, 67, 85, 154, 238
 Bengalis, 118
 Bengal Assembly, 85, 105, 160, 201
 Bengal Congress Parliamentary Party, 172
 Bengal Government, 263
 Bengal Krishak Samity, 28
 Bengal Legislative Assembly, 24, 200, 232
 Bengal Legislative Council, 199
 Bengal Legislature, 29, 159
 Bengal Ministry, 91, 236
 Bengali Muslim, 143
 Bengali Muslims, 190
 Bengal Muslim League, 103, 165, 173
 Bengal Provincial League, 172
 Bengal Provincial Muslim League, 46, 79, 154, 172, 177, 236
 Bengal Provincial Muslim League Conference, 48, 177
 Bhashani, 111
 Bhashani, Maulana Abdul Hamid Khan, 111
 Bharat, 254, 291
 Bhattacharya, Chapal Kanti, 154

Bhawanipur, 231, 232
 Bhopal, 178
 Bhopal Nawab of, 218
 Bhutto, Zulfiqar Ali, 289, 290
 Bihar, 10, 30, 72, 84, 85, 86, 143, 234, 235, 236, 294
 Bihari, 104
 Biharis, 118
 Bijnore, 156, 157
 Birbal, 95
 Birla, 264
 Birla, G.D., 263
 Biswas, C.C., 250
 Blitz, 228
 Bogra, 12, 15, 27
 Bogra, Prime Minister Mohammed Ali, 41
 Bombay, 1, 17, 24, 30, 33, 35, 36, 60, 61, 62, 67, 69, 71, 87, 91, 93, 95, 109, 110, 115, 116, 117, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 133, 137, 138, 140, 143, 148, 160, 163, 166, 168, 173, 178, 179, 192, 195, 200, 212, 217, 226, 228, 230, 234, 243, 245
 Bombay Chamber, 124
 Bombay Chronicle, 60, 73, 95
 Bombay Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 120, 125
 Bose, 46, 175, 188
 Bose, Sarat Chandra, 29, 43, 47, 85, 86, 173, 258
 Bose, Subhas, 180
 Bose, Subhas Chandra, 2, 9, 85
 Botawala Charities, 191
 Boundary Commission, 292
 Brazil, 89
 Brelvi, 73
 Britain, 2, 57, 101, 134, 170, 205, 247, 257, 285, 268,
 British, 1, 3, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21, 35, 38, 43, 55, 57, 59, 60, 61, 62, 67, 79, 98, 100, 102, 136, 141, 162, 163, 173, 187, 202, 203, 206, 207, 214, 223, 225, 226, 227, 229, 233, 246, 247, 249, 252, 254, 256, 257, 259, 260, 262, 275, 277, 278, 282
 Britisher, 250, 254, 255, 262
 Britishers, 67
 British Cabinet, 205, 243, 244
 British Cabinet Mission, 54, 207
 British-Congress combine, 237

British Empire, 161
 British Federation, 129
 British Government, 30, 51, 60, 101, 134, 135, 136, 147, 160, 161, 162, 162, 163, 166, 168, 170, 200, 208, 221, 222, 226, 230, 231, 236, 242, 243, 244, 247, 249, 265, 292
 British Governor, 54, 234
 British High Court, 250, 255
 British Imperialism, 259
 British India, 129, 204, 247
 British Indian Government, 84
 British Labour Cabinet, 204
 British Labour Party, 59
 British Ministers, 208, 217, 245
 British Parliament, 48, 149
 British Power, 237
 Brutus, 200, 201
 Bulandshahr, 156
 Burma, 83
 Burma, Earl Mountbatten of, 249
 Burrows, Sir Frederick, 232
 Bustees, 231, 232
 Buxar, 14
 Bux, Haji Moula, 194
 Bux, Moula, 195, 196
 Cabinet Delegation, 224, 227, 228
 Cabinet Mission, 101, 104, 211, 204, 206, 208, 210, 211, 212, 215, 216, 221, 222, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226
 Cabinet Mission's Plan, 210, 212, 214, 215, 221, 221, 221, 222, 226, 230, 242, 242, 244, 247
 Cachar, 254
 Cadillac, 278
 Cairo, 246
 Calcutta, 3, 4, 5, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22, 24, 28, 29, 44, 50, 67, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 78, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 86, 87, 90, 93, 94, 104, 106, 107, 109, 115, 119, 120, 124, 125, 127, 129, 130, 131, 132, 138, 139, 141, 148, 158, 165, 168, 171, 175, 176, 177, 188, 191, 192, 193, 193, 201, 217, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 245, 249, 253, 254, 257, 293
 Calcutta Corporation, 3, 7, 8, 9, 104, 124
 Calcutta District Muslim League, 172, 200
 Calcutta Muslim Chamber, 120

- Calcutta Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 127
 Calcutta Muslim Orphanage, 192
 Calcutta University, 4, 78
 Caliphs, 108
 Carnac Street, 24, 25, 50, 79, 90, 122, 125, 168, 182
 Cambridge, 1
 Canada, 89, 268, 270
 Campbell-Johnson, 256
 Cassius, 200
 Central Assembly, 17, 18, 19, 140
 Central Cabinet, 106
 Central Government, 41, 88, 105, 163, 214, 217
 Central Government of India, 129
 Central Legislative Assembly, 95, 140
 Central Legislature, 18
 Central Provinces, 30
 C.P., 143
 Central Province Chamber, 127
 Caste Hindu, 188
 Coalition Party, 46, 48
 Coat of Arms, 277
 Commander-in-Chief, 134
 Committee of Action, 55, 196
 Commons, 100
 Commonwealth, 58, 101
 Communal Award, 150, 152, 153
 Company, 10, 12
 Corporation, 3, 4, 9, 78, 104
 Corporation Street, 231
 Cox Bazar, 83
 Congress, 4, 9, 14, 16, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 43, 46, 47, 50, 52, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 85, 86, 101, 102, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 162, 163, 168, 170, 183, 184, 204, 208, 210, 210, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 233, 234, 237, 238, 239, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 247, 250, 255, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 273, 292, 293, 294, 295, 298.
 Congressmen 155, 170, 294
 Congress Cabinet, 156
 Congress Government, 292
 Congress High Command, 35, 162
 Congress-League Coalition Ministry, 214
 Congress-Mahasabha, 85, 199
 Congress Ministry, 35, 238, 293
 Congress Ministries, 162
 Congress Muslims, 32
 Congress Party, 4, 9, 21, 29, 34, 172, 215, 241
 Congress President, 226
 Congress Working Committee, 34, 62, 101, 210, 211, 212, 215, 224, 229, 273
 Constituent Assembly, 39, 40, 160, 210, 211, 213, 214, 217, 219, 226, 229, 230, 244
 Consolidated Vultee, 131
 Council, 44, 46
 Council of State, 31
 Convair, 131
 Convention Muslim League, 169
 Cripps, 225
 Cripps, Stafford, 205
 Cripps, Sir Stafford, 53, 57, 58, 59, 60, 100, 101, 102, 135, 136, 204, 206, 212, 225
 Cripps Mission, 53, 201
 Crown, 58
 Cyril, Sir, 252, 253, 254
 Czechoslovakia, 271
 Czechs, 271
 Caste Hindus, 134, 191
 Caste Hindu raj, 227
 Chakravarti, Dhires Chandra, 154
 Chamber Fund, 91
 Chaprasi, 11
 Chehlum (40th day memorial service), 281, 287
 Chehlum Memorial Service, 287
 Chengez, 232
 Chhattari, Nawab of, 16
 Chhoturam, Sir, 54, 88, 193
 Chhoturams, 54
 Chicago, 241
 Chief Minister, 43, 87
 Chief Minister-designate, 35
 China, 268, 270
 Chinese, 269
 Chinoy, Sir Sultan, 119, 120, 124, 150
 Chinoys, 120
 Chittagong, 275, 285
 Chowdhry Saheb, 293, 254, 296, 297, 298
 Chowdhry, Abdul Matin, 14, 16, 66
 Chowdhry Nawab Ali, 12
 Christians, 143, 149

- Christian Parsi, 117
 Chundrigar, I.L., 219
 Chundrigar, Ismail, 245
 Churchill, 88, 180, 181
 Churchill, Winston, 57
 Church World Service, 268
 Circular Road, 231
 Civil and Military Gazette, 149
 Claridge's, 242, 243
 Clive, 11
 Coalition Government, 217, 218, 224
 Coalition Ministry, 46, 48

 Dacca, 9, 12, 81, 82, 179, 192, 275
 Dacca, Nawab of, 43, 48, 197
 Dacca, Nawab Bahadur of, 43
 Daily Zamindar, 5
 Dakota, 275
 Dakotas, 131
 Dalal, Sir Ardeshir, 140
 Dalhousie, 16
 Dalvi, V. G. 233
 Daryaganj, 79, 120
 Daultana, Mian Mumtaz, 55, 56, 237
 Dawn, 4, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 124, 243
 Dawn Trust, 80,
 Dawood, Sir Adamji Haji, 94, 120, 127, 132,
 Deen, Mian Mohkam, 144
 Defence Council, 44, 53, 173, 177
 Defence Member, 135
 Dehlavi, Sikander, 27, 120, 124
 Delhi, 17, 54, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 79, 83, 91, 101, 104, 114, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 139, 145, 153, 154, 173, 177, 188, 190, 194, 208, 217, 240, 245, 254, 262, 278, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296
 Delhi Convention (of Muslim legislators), 145
 Deoband, 20
 Deoband Seminary, 21
 Department of Interior Auditorium, 281
 Deputy High Commissioner for India, 92
 Deputy Mayor, 104
 Detroit, 241
 Dillan, 178, 179

 Dina, 117
 Dinajpur, 155
 Diplomatic Corps, 281, 288
 Director-General of Civil Aviation, 131
 District League, 44
 Divide and Quit, 214,
 Duncan, 5
 Dunkirk, 187
 Dwarkadas, Kanji, 35, 36, 95, 110

 Early Phase of Muslim Political Movement, 12
 East Bengal, 83, 85, 89, 111, 139, 253, 254, 256, 273
 Eastern Bengal, 255
 East India Company, 10, 11, 12
 East Pakistan, 105, 110, 205, 275
 East Punjab, 291, 292, 293, 294,
 Egypt, 247
 Ehsan, 67
 Embassy of Pakistan, 272,
 Emerson, Sir Herbert, 157
 England, 78, 136, 180, 196, 222, 264, 270
 Engineer, N.P., 224
 English, 4, 12, 67, 68, 72, 73, 76, 78, 85, 102, 107, 298,
 English Company, 11, 12,
 European, 11
 Europeans, 4, 191, 197

 Faith, Unity, Discipline, 100
 Faruqui, Nawab K.G.M., 14
 Fateha (Prayer), 286, 287
 Fateha Khwani (recitation of prayer), 281
 Father of Pakistan, 81, 281
 Fatwa (religious edict), 156
 Fazlul Haq Cabinet, 188
 Fazlul Haq Ministry, 183
 Fazlul Haq—Shyamaprasad Ministry, 84
 Federal Court, 215
 Federation of Muslim Chambers of Commerce and Industry, 119, 120, 121, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129
 Fellow-Muslims, 5
 Feni, 177
 Ferangi Mahal, Maulana Inayatullah of, 16
 Ferozpur, 250, 252, 253, 256,

Final Phase of Struggle for Pakistan, 259
 Finance Minister, 92
 Finance Minister of Pakistan, 123
 Firangimahli, Maulana Jamal Mian, 245
 First Lord of the Admiralty, 21
 Flagstaff House, 288
 Foreign Affairs, 296
 Foreign Office, 40
 Forward Block, 4, 47, 85
 Founder of Pakistan, 282
 Founding Father of Pakistan, 298
 France, 187, 268, 269, 270

Gandhi, 59, 62, 106, 110, 135, 163,
 170, 183, 184, 211, 212, 214, 215,
 217, 218, 224, 235, 264, 273, 295,
 296, 298

Gandhiji, 110, 295, 297

Gandhi, Mahatma, 293

Gangee, Abdullah, 27,

Ganges, 236

Garhmukteswar, 234, 236, 264

German 181

Germans, 187

Glorious Quran, 281

Government of Bengal, 48, 78, 91

Government of India, 67, 73, 88, 104,
 131, 161, 163, 169, 183, 246, 250,
 264, 264, 291, 292, 293, 294, 297

Government of India Act of 1919, 135,
 148, 216, 219

Government of India Act of 1935, 14,
 17, 37

Government of Pakistan, 238, 296, 297

Government of Punjab, 5

Government of Sind, 41

Governor, 47, 48, 49, 92

Governor of Bombay, 53

Governor of the Punjab, 6

Governor-General, 134

Governor-General's House, 79, 271,
 279, 287

Governor-General of Pakistan, 115, 123,
 277

Grand Mufti, 246

Great Britain, 162

Grosvenor Gardens, 243

Gupta, Indranarayan Sen, 154

Gupta, J.C., 9

Gurdaspur, 250, 251, 252, 253

Gurdwara, 5

Gurdwaras, 294

Gurus (Teachers), 157

Habib, 124, 133

Habib Bank, 132

Habib Dawood, 245

Habibullah, Khwaja, 175

Habibullah, Nawab, 9, 14

Habibullah, Nawab Khwaja, 27

Hailakandi, 254

Halagu, 232

Haq, 26, 27, 28, 43, 44, 47, 48, 172,
 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179,
 180, 184, 185, 186, 187

Haq, A.K. Fazlul, 4, 8, 9, 15, 22, 27,
 43, 44, 46, 193, 202

Haq, Fazlul, 8, 15, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28,
 29, 43, 44, 46, 48, 49, 50, 53, 160,
 161, 162, 165, 166, 167, 169, 170,
 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178,
 179, 180, 181, 182, 185, 186, 187,
 188, 196, 192, 193, 200

Haq, M. Azizul, 14, 15

Haq, Ministry, 49, 183, 185, 187, 188

Haq-Shyamaprasad Ministry, 186

Haq, Sir Azizul, 192

Hardinge Avenue, 88, 102

Harijan, 62

Harijans, 207

Haroons, 80

Harrison, Selig S., 296

Hashim, Abul, 199

Hassan, 47, 68, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79,
 89, 91, 94, 106, 120, 123, 126, 128,
 129, 137, 138, 140, 166, 181, 247,
 268, 269, 270, 271, 279, 285, 287, 288

Hasan, Mahmood, 124

Hasan, Mumtaz, 238

Hasan, Riazul, 4

Hasan, Sir Syed Wazir, 13

Hastings, Warren, 10

Hayat, Malik Khizr, 55

Hayat, Sardar Shaukat, 56

Hayat, Sir Khizr, 54, 55, 66

Hayat, Sir Sikandar, 17, 53, 54, 166,
 167, 168, 169, 173

Hazrat Ali, 117

Hazrat Mohammed-al-Mehdy, 117

Hedjaz, 246, 247

Herald, 80, 81

Herald Tribune, 104, 131, 241, 242

- Henderson, Mr. Loy, 241
 Herbert, Sir John, 92, 178
 Hidayatullah, 194, 195, 196
 Hidayatullah, Ghulam Hussain, 41, 105, 193, 242
 Hidayatullah Ministry, 193, 194
 High Command, 35, 63
 Hindu, 6, 7, 10, 15, 16, 29, 35, 54, 55, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 67, 73, 75, 79, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 92, 95, 101, 111, 128, 135, 136, 140, 141, 147, 149, 152, 153, 154, 160, 161, 168, 178, 179, 188, 196, 204, 208, 211, 214, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 238, 239, 240, 252, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 263, 275, 295
 Hindu Baniyas, 141
 Hindu Congress, 8, 21, 214, 221, 226, 232, 260
 Hindu Dharma, 143
 Hindu India, 206, 248, 250, 255, 260
 Hindu Mahasabha, 27, 43, 85, 231, 232, 233, 257
 Hindu Raj (Hindu rule), 59, 158
 Hindus, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 14, 17, 21, 25, 29, 43, 44, 47, 55, 57, 60, 61, 67, 85, 87, 98, 100, 106, 130, 132, 140, 144, 149, 150, 152, 159, 179, 183, 188, 191, 203, 206, 222, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 237, 238, 239, 240, 254, 256, 257, 258, 260, 261, 262, 282, 295
 Hindustan, 144
 Hindustan Times, 102, 260
 His Excellency the Governor, 65
 His Excellency the Governor-General, 161
 His Majesty, 6
 His Majesty's Government, 57, 59, 160, 161, 170, 206, 244, 247, 248
 His Majesty's High Court of Judicature, 251
 History of the Freedom Movement in India, 213, 214
 Hobson's Choice, 263
 Holy Quran, 22, 23, 156, 281, 286
 Hoshiarpur, 252
 House of Commons, 251
 Houses of Parliament, 100
 Howrah, 158
 Howrah Station, 24
 Howrah town, 24
 Hubli, 167
 Hughly Imambara Trust, 12
 Hudson, 270
 Hunter, Sir William, 11
 Hunter, W.W., 12
 Husain, Altaf, 4, 78, 79, 81, 243
 Husain, Sir Fazle, 16, 17
 Husain, Sir Ghulam, 194, 197
 Husain, Syed Mohammed, 31, 32, 33
 Hyderabad, 41
 Hyderabad Government, 124
 Ibrahim, Hafiz Mohammed, 156
 I.C.S., 92, 184, 245
 Iftikharuddin, Mian, 56, 237
 Ilah, Amir Abdul, 245
 Illustrated Weekly of India, 92
 Imam, Sir Syed Ali, 13
 Imperial Hotel, 128
 Imperial Legislative Council, 1, 116
 Imperial Valley, 241
 Imphal, 83
 Inayatullah, Maulana, 16
 Independence Day, 256
 Independent India, 248
 Independent Scheduled Caste, 47
 India, 1, 7, 8, 10, 11, 12, 16, 17, 19, 32, 33, 36, 50, 54, 57, 60, 63, 66, 78, 89, 91, 93, 101, 106, 107, 111, 117, 118, 119, 125, 130, 131, 132, 134, 135, 140, 140, 142, 143, 150, 151, 153, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 164, 165, 170, 173, 182, 192, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 218, 221, 225, 227, 228, 230, 233, 237, 239, 241, 242, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 252, 253, 255, 256, 257, 261, 262, 264, 267, 268, 269, 270, 272, 273, 277, 285, 291, 292, 293, 295, 296, 297, 298
 India a Restatement, 34
 India's Fight for Freedom, 35, 36, 95, 110
 India Wins Freedom, 30, 214, 215, 230
 India Wins Freedom, the Other Side, 31, 35, 229
 Indian, 134, 205, 227, 261, 277, 293, 294, 295
 Indians, 101, 117
 Indian Army, 269
 Indian Big Business, 238

- Indian Cabinet, 262
 Indian Christian, 191, 223, 224
 Indian Civil Servant, 92
 Indian Cricket Team, 264
 Indian Congress, 60, 264
 Indian Constituent Assembly, 297
 Indian Delegation, 267
 Indian Federation, 129
 Indian Government, 204, 264, 274, 291, 293, 294, 295
 Indian Hindu, 260
 Indian Independence Bill, 251
 Indian High Commissioner, 296
 Indian Majlis, 1
 Indian Muslim, 118
 Indian Muslims, 241
 Indian National Army, 2
 Indian National Congress, 60, 147, 149, 229
 Indian Parliament, 297
 Indian States, 58
 Indian Union, 58, 60, 292, 298
 Information Centre, 243
 Insha Allah (God Willing) 139, 140, 185
 Interim Government, 136, 216, 217, 219, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 238, 245, 248, 262, 268
 Iqbal, Dr. 18, 51
 Iqbal, Dr. Mohammed, 17
 Iqbal, Sir Mohammed, 17
 Iraq, 245
 Iran, 1, 245, 247
 Islam, 5, 274
 Islamia College, 202
 Islamic 115, 275
 Ismaili Khoja, 117
 Isnai Ashari, 117
 Isnai Asharis, 117
 Ispahani, 80, 87, 92, 186
 Ispahani, 68, 73, 77, 84, 85, 86, 87, 137
 Ispahani, Hasan, 50, 75, 90, 119, 122, 125, 168, 182, 284
 Ispahani, M.A. 285
 Ispahani, M.A.H., 27, 92, 272, 289
 Ispahani, Mirza Abol Hasan, 279
 Ispahani, Mirza Ahmad, 24, 27, 185
 Ispahani, Mirza Ali, 2
 Ispahani, Miza Hashim, 13
 Jalpaiguri, 254
 Jamiat-ul-Ulema, 17, 156
 Jamil, 120
 Jamil, S.M., 119
 Japan, 84
 Japanese, 59, 84, 88
 Jauhar, Maulana Mohamed Ali, 112
 Javeri, C.C., 245
 Jawaharlal, 297, 298
 Jenkins, 294
 Jenkins, Sir Evan, 238, 253, 256, 294
 Jew, 7
 Jhawtola Road, 9, 22
 Jinnah, 2, 3, 14, 17, 19, 20, 21, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 37, 38, 44, 46, 51, 53, 57, 58, 61, 62, 64, 67, 68, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79, 80, 88, 89, 91, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 102, 110, 116, 119, 121, 125, 126, 127, 128, 128, 138, 139, 140, 141, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 170, 173, 179, 180, 182, 185, 186, 194, 195, 203, 207, 214, 215, 221, 223, 224, 228, 229, 234, 237, 245, 246, 259, 268, 283, 285, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298
 Jinnah, Miss, 65, 75, 77, 81, 82, 89, 190, 91, 93, 98, 120, 125, 272, 280, 286, 288
 Jinnah, Miss Fatima, 96, 97, 112, 158, 287, 288
 Jinnah, Mohammed Ali, 1, 2, 13, 17, 24, 37, 60, 64, 93, 94, 96, 101, 103, 107, 110, 115, 132, 140, 202, 203, 281, 282, 283
 Jinnah, Mrs., 95
 Jinnah, M.A., 56, 70, 71, 72, 74, 75, 77, 90, 93, 114, 122, 125, 128, 129, 138, 168, 185, 272, 279
 Jinnah, Qaid-e-Azam Mohammed Ali, 281, 298
 Jinnah-Sikander Pact, 54
 Joint Governor-General, 261, 262
 Joint Stock Company, 69
 Jordon, 246
 Joseph, 68, 70, 74, 75, 76, 77, 124
 Joseph, Pothan, 68, 70, 73, 74, 75, 78
 Jugantar, 89, 91
 Julius Caesar, 200
 Jullundur, 252

- Jumat-ul-Wida (last Friday of Ramazan), 171
- Kabir, Humayun, 15
- Kabuli (of Kabul), 202
- Kanpur, 159
- Kapurthala, 232
- Karakul, 38
- Karachi, 39, 41, 42, 73, 79, 80, 81, 82, 105, 107, 119, 131, 132, 133, 240, 242, 245, 247, 262, 265, 267, 272, 273, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 284, 285, 287, 288, 294
- Karimgunj, 254
- Kashmir, 123, 193, 206, 248, 250, 253, 267, 268, 269, 271, 272
- Kaul, P.N., 92
- Khaliquzzaman, 64, 65, 66, 291, 293
- Khaliquzzaman, Chowdhury, 16, 30, 31, 32, 34, 35, 37, 62, 63, 66, 291, 292, 296, 297, 298
- Khan, Abdul Wahid, 31, 35, 229
- Khan Akram, 176
- Khan, Aurangzeb, 66
- Khan, Chaudhri Zafarullah, 267, 291
- Khan, Khan Abdul Qaiyum, 238
- Khan, Khizr Hayat, 55, 88, 193
- Khan, Liatat Ali, 39, 41, 204, 208, 219, 224, 238, 242, 258, 259, 263, 284, 294
- Khan, Malik Khizr Hayat, 54
- Khan, Maulana Mohammed Akram, 27, 199
- Khan, Mohammed Ismail, 224
- Khan, Nawabzada Liaquat Ali, 16, 70, 74, 75, 89, 90, 102, 195
- Khan, Nawab Ismail, 16, 37, 62, 64, 89
- Khan, Nawab Mohammed Ismail, 35, 196, 298
- Khan, Raja Ghazanfar Ali, 17, 219
- Khan, Sardar Shaukat Hayat, 237
- Khan, Sir Sikandar Hayat, 43, 50, 52, 53, 54, 160, 165, 168, 169, 170
- Khan, Sardar Aurangzeb, 114
- Khan, Sir Sultan Mohammed Shah, 13
- Khan, Sir Syed Ahmad, 12
- Khan, Sir Zafarullah, 268, 269
- Khan, Tamizuddin, 27, 165, 176
- Khan, Thakur Asghar Ali, 31
- Khaksar, 93
- Kher, 35
- Khilafat, 8, 67
- Khilafat Committee, 8
- Khizr, 55, 58
- Khurshid, K.H. 144, 144
- Kuhro, 296
- Khwaja Saheb, 106
- Khyaligunj, 66
- Kidwai, Musheer Hussain, 13
- Kidwai, Rafi Ahmad, 31
- Kifaetullah, Mufti, 17, 20
- King Emperor, 147
- King Ibne Saud, 90
- Kingsway Hall, 245
- Kintu Babu, 10
- Knights, 229
- Kohat, 41
- Kooshik, 123
- Kripalani, Acharya, 296
- Kripalani, M.K., 92
- Kirpalani, Moti K., 92
- Krishak Praja, 15, 25, 26, 27, 189
- Krishak Praja Party, 22, 24, 26
- Labour Government, 222, 257
- Labour Party, 136
- Lady Brabourne College, 202
- Lahijan, 246
- Lahore, 2, 5, 14, 16, 18, 20, 21, 41, 51, 53, 67, 81, 118, 121, 122, 149, 150, 151, 157, 196, 251, 252, 274, 282, 294
- Lahore Resolution, 51, 52, 66, 144, 145
- Lajpat Rai Hall, 149
- Lake Success, 268, 269, 271
- Laljee, Haridas, 245
- Laljee, Hussienbhai, 94, 96
- Larkana, 296
- Latif Nawab Abdul, 12
- Law of Moses, 145
- Leader, 154
- League, 20, 30, 31, 32, 33, 43, 46, 47, 49, 51, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 60, 69, 87, 88, 90, 91, 103, 111, 125, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158, 162, 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 169, 172, 173, 174, 176, 177, 179, 180, 184, 187, 188, 189, 193, 195, 196, 198, 200, 201, 216, 217, 218, 219, 221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 228, 230, 231, 234, 237, 244,

258
 Leaguer, 76, 77, 176, 183, 194
 Leaguers, 139, 157, 262
 League Council, 52, 57, 223, 226, 231,
 234
 League High Command, 53
 League Ministers, 182
 League Ministry, 159, 189, 195
 League Party, 184, 185
 League President, 53, 161
 League Working Committee, 44, 160,
 163, 168, 218
 Lebanon, 246
 Legislative Assembly, 58
 Liaqat, 72, 74, 169, 208, 238
 Linlithgow, Lord, 48
 Lockheed Aircraft Corporation, 40
 London, 2, 13, 58, 99, 147, 148, 222,
 242, 243, 245, 264, 268
 Lord Haw Haw, 181
 London Street, 15
 Lucas, 242
 Lucknow, 32, 33, 51, 64, 65, 66, 93,
 122, 156, 298
 Lucknow Pact, 147, 170
 Ludhiana, 252
 Lumby, E.W.R., 223
 Lumly, Sir Roger, 173

 Macbeth, 5
 Madani, Maulana Hussain Ahmad, 17,
 20
 Madras, 17, 30, 38, 68, 143, 144
 Madura, 38
 Mahajan, 250
 Mahasabha, 43, 85, 86, 102, 176, 184,
 193
 Mahasabha Hindus, 14
 Mahmudabad, 207, 208
 Mahmudabad House, 30, 37
 Mahmudabad, Maharajah Saheb of 37
 Mahmudabad, Raja Mohammed Ali
 Mohammed Khan of, 13
 Mahmudabad, Raja Saheb of, 16, 37,
 61, 64, 77, 80, 97, 140, 204, 207,
 282
 Maidan (open space), 231, 232
 Majlis, 1, 2, 4, 78
 Majlis Party, 4
 Majumdar, R.C., 213, 214
 Majumdar, Satyendra Nath, 154

Malabar, 68
 Malabar Hill, 61, 89, 166, 181, 182
 Malaviya, Pandit, 154
 Malik, Col. Majeed, 243
 Mamdot, 252
 Mamdot, Nawab of, 55, 66, 181, 182
 Mandal, Jogendra Nath, 219
 Manki Sharif, Pir of, 238
 Manoharlal, 193
 Manshoor, 67
 Marwari, 11
 Marwaries, 197
 Mathabanga, 253, 254
 Matthai, John, 224
 Matheran, 109, 128, 129
 Maulana, 111
 Mayor, 8, 104, 105
 Mayoralty, 104
 Mecca, 252
 Meerut, 64
 Mehtab, Hari Krishna, 224
 Majlis, 246
 Mela (fair), 236
 Memon, 138
 Menon, V.P., 52, 101, 211, 212, 224,
 229, 244
 Mian, Jamal, 61
 Mian, Maulana Jamal, 60
 Michaelmas, 1
 Middle East, 104, 105
 Middle Eastern, 106
 Midnapur, 183
 Minister of Industries, 4
 Ministry of Education, 78
 Ministry of States, 108
 Minto, Lord, 12
 Mirza, Mr. Iskandar, 265
 Mitra, Dulal Chandra, 154
 Moghul Emperor, Shah Alam, 10
 Mohallas (quarters of the town), 231
 Mohammed Al', Begum, 112
 Mohammed Ali Jinnah, a Political Study,
 31
 Mohammed Ali Park, 158
 Mohammed, Din, 250
 Mohajis, 118
 Mohammed, Mulla Jan, 114
 Mohammedan Sporting Club, 3, 10
 Mohsin, 12
 Mohsinul Mulk, 12
 Momin, 274
 Momin, Abdul, 175, 176

Montagu-Chelmsford Scheme, 18

Moon, Penderel, 214

Moore, Arthur, 78

Mookerjee, Dr. Shyama Prasad, 192

Moradabad, 156

Morshed brothers, 22

Morshed, Mahboob, 187

Morning News, 73, 85, 233

Moroccan National Day, 92

Mosley, Leonard, 214, 239, 256, 273, 274, 294

Mosque, 5

Mother Britain, 10

Mother, India, 5, 141

Mountbatten, 250, 251, 256, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 294

Mountbatten Declaration, 38, 258

Mountbatten, Lord, 248, 253, 254, 256, 259, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 294

Mountbatten, Lord Louis, 248

Mountbatten Plan, 201, 261

Mount Pleasant Road, 61, 89, 166, 181, 182

Muhammadi Steamship Company, 133

Mujahids, 274

Mukerjee, 192

Mukerjee, Dr., 86

Mukerjee, B.K., 250

Mukerjee, J.C., 9

Mukerjee, S. Prasad, 183

Mukerjee, Shyama Prasad, 29, 43, 47, 85, 88, 92, 188, 189, 191

Munir, 250

Munir, Mr. Justice, 251, 254

Munir, Mr. Justice Mohammed, 251, 253

Munir, Mr. Mohamed, 251

Murshed, Manzur, 186

Musalman, 4, 5, 18, 152, 160, 178, 194, 252

Musalman, 11, 19, 57, 70, 140, 151, 152, 153, 158, 159, 160, 164, 165, 166, 171, 173, 175, 176, 179, 185, 186, 191, 200, 275, 295

Muslim, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 21, 23, 28, 29, 30, 31, 33, 35, 43, 44, 46, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 57, 61, 63, 65, 68, 73, 78, 79, 80, 81, 88, 92, 95, 101, 102, 104, 106, 110, 112, 113, 117, 118, 119, 130, 131, 133, 135, 136, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 145, 147, 148,

149, 149, 150, 151, 152, 156, 157, 159, 161, 163, 168, 170, 170, 171, 172, 173, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 183, 187, 189, 191, 192, 195, 196, 200, 201, 202, 208, 210, 214, 215, 220, 221, 223, 224, 227, 229, 231, 232, 232, 234, 236, 237, 239, 240, 241, 245, 246, 247, 249, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 263, 264, 266, 274, 283, 284, 286, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296

Muslims, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 35, 43, 45, 47, 53, 54, 55, 55, 56, 57, 58, 60, 61, 63, 64, 65, 67, 73, 85, 93, 97, 100, 101, 105, 106, 107, 111, 113, 118, 129, 130, 134, 136, 137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153, 154, 158, 159, 162, 163, 176, 176, 177, 182, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 190, 191, 195, 196, 198, 199, 202, 203, 204, 207, 208, 210, 211, 216, 217, 218, 222, 226, 227, 228, 230, 231, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 240, 240, 241, 243, 245, 246, 248, 250, 251, 253, 255, 257, 258, 259, 260, 264, 265, 276, 282, 284, 285, 287, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 298

Muslim Bengal, 3, 11, 12, 14, 23, 25, 87

Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 89, 94, 192

Muslim Chamber of Commerce Relief Fund, 191

Muslim Commercial Bank, 132, 133

Muslim Councillors, 8

Muslim Diplomatic Missions, 281

Muslim Federation, 129

Muslim India, 46, 48, 51, 64, 77, 80, 88, 126, 131, 136, 144, 148, 160, 163, 165, 170, 181, 187, 190, 194, 201, 227, 261, 262

Muslim India Information Centre, 243

Muslim India News Bulletin, 243

Muslim League, 12, 13, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 25, 26, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 37, 38, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 67, 71, 72, 73, 76, 84,

- 85, 87, 101, 103, 104, 105, 111,
113, 115, 124, 135, 136, 137, 140,
141, 142, 143, 145, 147, 148, 150,
153, 154, 156, 157, 159, 160, 161,
162, 164, 168, 169, 171, 173, 174,
175, 176, 177, 179, 180, 181, 182,
185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191,
194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 200, 201,
202, 204, 207, 208, 210, 216, 217,
218, 219, 222, 223, 225, 227, 228,
229, 230, 231, 233, 238, 242, 244,
248, 250, 251, 252, 256, 258, 259,
260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 296
- Muslim Leaguer, 30, 169, 177
Muslim Leaguers, 29, 31, 35, 38, 53,
55, 124, 141, 158, 161, 164, 173,
179, 183, 187, 190, 193, 204, 231
Muslim League Coalition Party, 55
Muslim League Council, 213, 226, 228
Muslim League Councillors, 105
Muslim League Fund, 183
Muslim League government, 43, 83, 84,
85, 86, 87
Muslim League High Command, 91, 165
Muslim League Legislature Party, 186
Muslim League Ministry, 14, 201
Muslim League National Guard, 237
Muslim League Parliamentary Board, 16,
28, 32, 34
Muslim League Parliamentary Party, 185,
189
Muslim League Party, 20, 29, 30, 31, 34,
46, 47, 48, 54, 104, 105, 159, 166,
188, 189, 194, 196, 237, 297
Muslim League Parties, 18, 159
Muslim League President, 14
Muslim League Working Committee,
43, 58, 60, 61, 63, 208, 209
Muslim Majlis, 4, 8
Muslim Majlis Party, 8
Muslim Nawabs, 239
Muslim Orphanage, 192
Muslim Pakistan, 206
Muslim Party, 29
Muslim Press, 177
Muslim Press Company, 69
Muslim Press and Publication Limited,
72
Muslim Provincial Premiers, 53
Muslim Punjab, 16
mutawallis (trustees), 81
- Nabob, 11
Nagpur, 48
Napier Barracks, 41
Napier Road, 80
Natal, 1, 31
National Agriculturist Party, 16
National Bank of Pakistan, 238
National Defence Council, 44, 46
National Government, 57
National Herald, 221
"Nationalist" Muslim, 140
Nationalist Muslims, 194
National Reconstruction Movement, 265
National Trust, 80
Natore, 49
Nava Joog, 46
Nawab Bahadur, 147
Nawab Bahadur of Dacca, 24, 28
Nawab of Dacca, 22, 29, 147, 174, 175,
179
Nawab Saheb, 91
Nawabzada, 91, 129
Nawaz, Begum Shah, 56, 200, 240, 241,
242
Nawaz, Miss Mumtaz Shah, 204
Nawab Nazim Mir Kasim, 10
Naya Jug, 174
Nazem, 183, 186
Nazi Germany, 160
Nazimuddin, Khwaja, 3, 14, 27, 83, 86,
97, 105, 141, 175, 236, 258, 278
Nazimuddin, Sir, 48, 49, 65, 105, 106,
139, 165, 166, 169, 170, 176, 184,
188, 189, 190, 191, 198, 199, 200,
201, 224
Nedou's Hotel, 14, 17, 158
Nehru, 149, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217,
218, 219, 221, 228, 238, 262, 273,
294
Nehru, Jawaharlal, 30, 149, 224
Nehru, Pandit, 62, 242, 261, 263, 298
Nehru, Pandit Jawaharlal, 213, 214,
292, 293
Netaji, 2
New Delhi, 49, 53, 67, 68, 76, 78, 80,
97, 101, 102, 119, 120, 131, 204,
208, 225, 253, 259, 260, 277, 293
New Muslim Majlis, 3, 4, 5, 8, 15, 19,
26, 151
New Muslim Majlis Party, 4, 21

New York, 240, 241, 267, 268, 286, 291

New York, Consulate-General, 40

New York Herald Tribune, 240, 242

Nikhil Bangla Krishak Praja Samity, 15, 26, 172

Nishat, 123

Nishtar, 114

Nishtar, Abdur Rab, 224, 263

Nishtar, Sardar Abdur Rab, 219

Noakhali, 234, 235

Non-League Muslims, 194

Noon, Malik Feroz Khan, 56, 135, 236, 237

Noons, 229

Nooruddin, 8, 9, 15, 16, 21, 22, 23, 152, 202

Nooruddin, Khwaja, 3, 10, 24, 27, 67, 94, 201

North Bengal, 89

North Western Frontier, 159

North-Western Frontier Province, 58, 144, 274

NWFP, 143, 211, 238, 293

Norwester, 158

Ochterloney Monument, 231

Orient, 75

Orient Airways, 40, 130, 131, 132

Orissa, 11, 12, 84, 85, 86, 143

Osman, Mohammed, 104

Oxford Majlis, 1

Pacific, I

Pakistan, 1, 36, 38, 40, 41, 42, 64, 81,

88, 91, 100, 103, 104, 106, 107,

111, 117, 118, 132, 133, 135, 136,

137, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145,

169, 171, 183, 196, 199, 201, 202,

203, 204, 205, 206, 208, 219, 220,

221, 222, 223, 225, 226, 227, 235,

237, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245,

246, 247, 248, 250, 251, 252, 253,

256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262,

263, 264, 265, 268, 269, 273, 274,

275, 276, 277, 281, 282, 283, 284,

285, 286, 287, 288, 291, 292, 293,

294, 295, 296, 297, 298

Pakistani, 277, 284, 293

Pakistanis, 118, 264, 265, 274, 276, 282, 287

Pakistan Cabinet, 262, 281

Pakistan Delegation, 291

Pakistan the Formative Phase, 30, 224

Pakistan Government, 291, 292, 293, 295

Pakistan Herald, 80

Pakistan Herald Limited, 80

Pakistan Independence Day, 294

Pakistan Movement, 16

Pakistan Muslims 292

Pakistan Resolution, 149, 171

Pakistan Times, 253,

Palestine, 271

Pandal, 37

Panditji, 54

Pandits (title for Brahmins), 157

Panikkar, K.M., 11, 238

Parganas, 183

Paris, 98

Parliament, 57, 244, 247, 291

Parliamentary Board, 18, 20, 26, 27, 28, 35, 51

Parliamentary Secretaries, 49

Parsi, 117, 224

Partition Council, 261, 294

Partition Plan, 238, 258

Pasha, Ali Maher, 246

Pasha, Ali Yahya, 246

Pasha, Fargally, 246

Pasha, Hassouna, 246

Pasha, Nahas, 246

Pasha, Noqrasha, 246

Patel, 228

Patel Sardar, 35, 294, 298

Patel, Sardar Vallabhai, 239, 273

Patel, Vallabhai, 224

Pathankot, 251, 253

Pathway to Pakistan, 63, 64, 66, 291, 292

Patiala, Maharajah of, 259

Patna, 78, 178

Persian, 12

Personal Representatives, 106

Peshawar, 41, 114, 238

Pethick-Lawrence, 205

Pethick-Lawrence, Lord, 100, 101, 223

Petit, Miss Ratanbai, 1

Petit, Miss Ratti, 117

Petit, Sir Dinshaw, 1, 117

PIA, 130

- Pioneer, 39
 Pirs (Religious Guides), 156
 Planning Committee, 122
 Prāja, 29, 47
 Praja Party, 29
 Prasad, Dr. Rajendra, 152, 153, 154, 155, 224
 Prasad, Shyama, 177, 191
 Premiership, 48
 Presidency Magistrate, 116
 President of the Board of Trade, 100
 President's Cabinet of Ministers, 4
 Prime Minister, 57
 Prime Minister Attlee, 100
 Prime Minister of Bengal, 105
 Princes, 149
 Prince Dillan, 177
 Progressive Coalition Party, 178, 182, 185
 Progressive Muslim Group, 182
 Progressive Muslim League, 178, 180, 237
 Progressive Muslim Leagues, 198
 Progressive Party, 46, 47, 180, 185
 Provincial Conference, 52
 Provincial League, 171, 189
 Provincial League Working Committee 172
 Provincial Muslim League, 171, 194
 Provincial Parliamentary Board, 51, 139, 150, 159, 196
 Provincial Parliamentary Boards, 198
 Provincial President, 111
 Provincial Working Committee, 47
 Punjab, 16, 17, 41, 50, 51, 54, 56, 58, 66, 70, 72, 88, 123, 124, 141, 143, 144, 157, 160, 169, 173, 192, 193, 211, 237, 239, 250, 251, 256, 258, 259, 273, 294
 Punjabi, 43, 202, 210
 Punjabis, 118
 Punjab Assembly, 54, 55, 201
 Punjab Legislative Assembly, 52
 Punjab Muslim Chamber of Commerce, 120, 121
 Punjab Muslim League, 52, 171, 189
 Punjab Muslim League Conference, 55
 Punjab Provincial Muslim League Conference, 193
 Purnea, 11
 Putney Hill, 2
 Qaid, 39, 40, 41, 43, 44, 46, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 60, 62, 66, 67, 79, 80, 87, 88, 94, 95, 96, 98, 99, 101, 104, 106, 107, 108, 111, 112, 116, 117, 118, 120, 130, 133, 137, 142, 143, 168, 169, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 182, 183, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 207, 208, 209, 210, 218, 219, 220, 221, 225, 227, 230, 234, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 250, 257, 258, 260, 260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 280, 282, 297
 Qaid-e-Azam, 38, 40, 41, 42, 43, 46, 48, 49, 52, 53, 54, 55, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 66, 77, 80, 81, 82, 87, 94, 99, 100, 103, 104, 106, 107, 109, 112, 113, 117, 118, 130, 131, 132, 133, 135, 136, 137, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 169, 177, 181, 188, 189, 190, 191, 193, 194, 195, 196, 204, 208, 212, 215, 216, 216, 217, 218, 219, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 229, 230, 231, 236, 240, 241, 242, 249, 251, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 266, 267, 268, 269, 271, 273, 274, 275, 276, 278, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 291, 294, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298
 Qaiserbagh, 37
 Qavam-us-Saltaneh, 245
 Qizilbash, Muzaffar Ali, 17
 Queen Victoria, 11
 Quetta, 41, 42, 137, 138, 271, 278, 279, 280, 281
 'Quisling' Muslims, 217
 "Quit India" 59, 61
 "Quit India" Movement, 134
 Qureshi, Dr. I.H. 221
 Radcliffe, 250, 251, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258
 Radcliffe Award, 201, 248, 255
 Radcliffe Boundary Award, 292
 Radcliffe, Sir Cyril, 250, 256, 258
 Rahim, 5
 Rahimtoola, Habib, 120, 124

Rahman, 5, 161, 254
 Rahman, Abdur, 165, 202
 Rahman, Fazlur, 199
 Rahman, Mr. Justice S.A., 251, 253
 Rahman, S.A. 259
 Rahman, Sir A.F., 27
 Rahman, Mujibur, 4
 Rahman, Nurur, 120, 121, 127, 128, 129

Rai Kishan Rai, 11

Raja, 62

Rajagopalachari, C., 224

Raja of Salimpur, 31

Ramazan, 171

Ram, Jagjivan, 224

Rampur, Nawab of, 177

Rangoon, 131

Ratanpur, 14

Ravi, 251, 253

Rawalpindi, 41

Ray, Nepal Chandra, 154

Raza, Ibrahim Zein-el-Ali, 245

Readymoney House, 109

Reginald Coupland, 34

Reid, Mrs., 242

Reid, Mrs. Helen, 240

Reid, Mr. Ogden, 240

Republican Party, 169

Reserve Bank of India, 264, 276

Resolution, 66

Riggins, Dr. 286

Reuter, 69

Roosevelt, 88

Roy, Dr. B.C., 87

Roy, Kiran Shanker, 189

Roy, Sir Bijoy Prasad, 184

Russia, 271

Russian, 83

Sa'adullah, Sir, 16, 228

Sa'adullah, Sir Mohammed, 173

Saber, Rafique, 93

Sacramento, 241

Saharanpur, 156

Saheb, Syed Murtaza, 17

Saiyid, M.H., 31

Salimpur, Rajah Saheb, 16

Salimullah, Khwaja Sir, 147

Salimullah, Nawab, 12

Samity, 28

Sanad, 10

Sanyal, Dr. N., 85

Sardarjies, 54

Sarkar Nalini Ranjan, 161

Saud, Ibne, 247

Savoy Hotel, 242

Sayeed, K.B., 30, 224

Scheduled Castes, 191, 218, 219, 223, 259

Secondary Education Bill, 202

Secondary of State for India, 100, 134

Section 93 provinces (provinces placed under Governor's rule when Cabinet Government failed), 134

Security Council, 267, 268, 269

Sen Gupta Party, 4

Sen Gupta Group, 9

Sen Makhan Lal, 154

Serajganj, 48

Shahbeban-ul-Muslimeen (Muslim youth) 246

Shafi, Sir Mian Mohammed, 13

Shahabuddin, 139, 169, 174, 190

Shahabuddin, Khwaja, 14, 227

Shah, Sir Sultan Mohammed, 117

Shaheed, 107, 169, 183, 190, 201

Shahid, 5, 78

Shahidganj, 5

Shahidganj Mosque, 18

Shakargarh, 251, 252, 253

Shakespeare, 5, 200

Sher-e-Bengal (The Bengal Tiger) 202

Sherlock Holmes, 102

Shyamaprasad, 184

Shyama Group, 183

Sialkot, 55, 122, 193

Siddiqui, 95

Siddiqui, Abdur Rahman, 4, 14, 15, 16, 19, 20, 21, 67, 73, 86, 94, 95, 104, 150, 151, 161, 202

Siddiqui, A.R., 27, 186

Sikandar, 43, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 124, 165, 168, 169, 170

Sikh, 16, 54, 55, 56, 79, 177, 223, 232, 238, 252, 258, 259, 260, 294

Sikhs, 5, 55, 102, 153, 231, 237, 238, 252, 256, 259, 260

Simla, 104, 134, 208, 210, 223

Simla Conference, 54, 65, 136, 201, 258

Simla Deputation, 12

Sind, 41, 42, 58, 62, 143, 144, 159,

192, 193, 195, 196, 211, 273, 295,

- 296
 Sindh, 138
 Sindhi, 42
 Sind Assembly, 194, 261
 Sind Chief Court, 81
 Sindhi Hindu, 296
 Sindhi Hindus, 295, 296, 297
 Sind Muslim League, 193, 196
 Sind Provincial Muslim League, 193
 Singh, Baldeo, 192, 224, 259
 Singh, Master Tara, 238, 250
 Singh, Teja, 250
 South Asian, 84
 South America, 131
 South Calcutta, 94
 South East Asia, 83
 South East Asia Command, 248
 Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah,
 49, 55, 218, 225
 Srikishen, 128
 Srinagar, 109, 123, 193
 Stafford, Sir, 57, 58, 101
 State Bank, 273
 State Bank of Pakistan, 276
 State Department, 242
 Statesman, 4, 71, 78, 169, 225, 223,
 235
 Star, 69, 70, 71, 189
 Star of India, 28, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72,
 73, 75, 76, 78, 85, 148, 177, 181,
 189
 Statute of Westminster, 161
 Stephens, Ian, 226, 233, 235, 236, 262
 Subhas, 2
 Subjects Committee, 52, 56
 Suhrawardy, 104, 105, 107, 142, 144,
 165, 171, 175, 176, 189, 199, 232,
 233, 257, 258
 Suhrawardy, H.S., 15, 27, 86, 104, 106,
 141, 143, 257
 Suhrawardy, Shaheed, 8, 86, 171, 200
 Suleri, Z.A., 243
 Sulkas, 98
 Sultan, 123, 124, 125
 Super Constellation, 40
 Syed, 194, 195, 196
 Syed, A.Y., 94
 Syed, G.M. 62, 66, 193, 194, 195
 Syed Group, 194, 196
 Sylhet, 111, 250, 254, 255, 256
 Syria, 246
 Syrian, 270
 Syrian Christian, 68
 Sutlej, 252, 253, 255
 Teesta, 254
 TEMCO, 131
 Texas, 131
 Thakurdas, Sir Purshottamdas, 95
 Theatre Road, 106
 The Indian Musalmans, 11, 12
 The Last Days of the British Raj, 214,
 239, 274, 294
 The Struggle for Pakistan, 221
 The Transfer of Power in India, 52, 101,
 212, 223, 224, 229, 244
 Three Musketeers, 202
 Three Tailors of Tooley Street, 202
 Time, 242
 Times of India, 33, 169, 257
 Tipperah, 234, 235
 Tiwana, 56, 193
 Tiwana, Khizr Hayat, 43, 56, 237
 Tiwana, Khizr Hayat Khan, 55
 Tiwana, Malik Khizr Hayat, 193
 Tiwana, Malik Khizr Hayat Khan, 55
 Tiwana, Sir Khizr Hayat Khan, 54
 Town Hall, 22, 23, 24
 Tucker, Lt-General, 235, 236
 Tucker, Lt-Gen. Sir Francis, 235, 236
 Turkey, 8, 246
 Turkish, 40
 Ujh, 253
 Ulema (religious scholars), 157
 Union, 57, 58
 Union Assembly, 221
 Union Centre, 221
 Union Government, 293
 Unionist, 50, 51, 56, 157, 169
 Unionists, 51, 55, 135, 141, 157, 158,
 193
 Unionist Cabinet, 54
 Unionist Government, 17
 Unionist Ministry, 50
 Unionist Party, 17, 51, 54, 55, 135,
 157, 202
 U.K., 268, 269, 270
 United Kingdom, 57
 U.N., 267, 268, 270, 271
 United Nations, 58, 59, 88, 169, 267,
 271, 272, 291

- U.N. Assembly, 291
 United Nations Charter, 266
 U.N. General Assembly, 291
 United Muslim Party, 14, 15, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 115
 United Provinces, 16, 30, 33, 62, 64, 143, 153, 156, 235
 U.P. 30, 31, 32, 34, 65, 70, 72, 156, 196, 234, 236
 U.P. Assembly, 16, 30, 31
 U.P. League, 35
 United Provinces Legislative Assembly, 33
 U.P. Legislature, 34
 U.P. Ministry, 31
 U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Board, 31
 U.P. Muslim League Parliamentary Party, 31, 35
 U.P. Parliamentary Board, 32
 U.P. Provincial Muslim League, 35
 United States, 103, 104, 131, 241, 242, 280, 286, 287
 U.S., 272
 U.S.A., 79, 80, 82, 89, 104, 131, 240, 242, 266, 268, 269, 270, 279, 281
 United States of America, 281
 US Ambassador, 269
 United States Government, 241
 Urdu, 19, 66, 67, 85, 275, 298

 Vaught, Arnold B., 268
 Viceroy, 53, 54, 134, 135, 136
 Viceroy's Executive Council, 59, 78, 134, 135
 Viceroy of India, 88
 Viqar-ul-Mulk, 12
 Viqar-ul-Mulk, Nawab, 147
 Vital Speeches of the Day, 240

 Wadia, Neville, 117
 Wafdist Party, 246
 Wakf, 81
 Wakfs, 11
 Waldorf Astoria Hotel, 240

 Waqf Law, 18
 Wardha, 175
 Washington, 80, 82, 106, 241, 267, 272, 280, 281, 284, 285, 286, 288
 Washington Embassy, 40, 278, 279
 Waterloo, 44
 Wavell, Lord, 134, 136, 137, 217, 223, 248, 258
 Wavell Plan, 136
 West Bengal, 87, 89, 253, 254, 255, 293
 West Pakistan, 41, 132, 206, 259
 West Pakistan Muslim League Council, 292
 West Punjab, 292, 293, 294, 296
 While Memory Serves, 235, 236
 Whitehall, 60
 Whips, 49
 White Paper, 87
 Williams Francis, 256
 Woo, 70
 Woodrow, 208
 Working Committee, 41, 44, 45, 46, 49, 52, 53, 58, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 90, 98, 99, 101, 102, 104, 135, 139
 World War I, 8
 World War II, 88

 Y.M.C.A., 127
 Yusuf, Nawab Mohammed, 16
 Yusuf, S.M., 268

 Zafar Ali Khan, Maulana, 5
 Zafarullah, 270, 292
 Zafarullah, Sir, 292
 Zafarullah, Chaudhri, 291
 Zakaria Street, 8, 104
 Zaidi, 149, 150
 Zamindar, 67
 Zamindara League, 51
 Zamindaris, 11
 Ziarat, 108, 271, 276, 277, 278, 280
 Zira, 253, 253
 Zu-Intiqam, 5

